THE CHINA WEEKLY REVIEW

密勒氏評論報

A Weekly Newspaper Established In 1917

September 6, 1947

TEACHER'S DAY

AN EDITORIAL

Trade Revival Needs Action

J. R. Kaim

Macao Hits Doldrums

John W. Powell

Education Meet Faces Problems

Ronald Yu Soong Ch'eng

LETTER FROM SIAM

EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE

VOLUME 107 PRICE CNC$6,000 NUMBER 1

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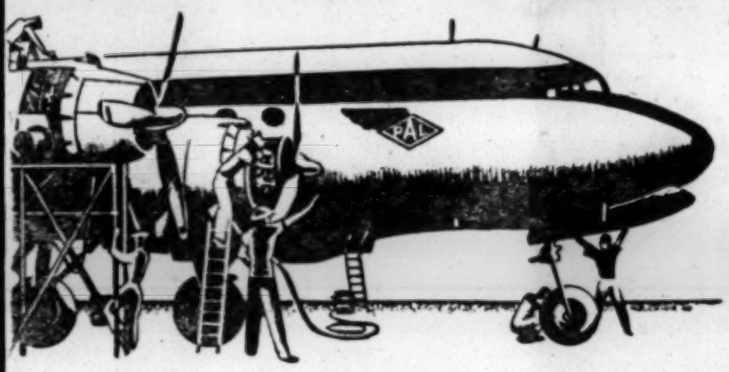

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LETTERS From The People

Comments from readers on current topics are cordially invited: their opinions, however, do not necessarily represent the views of The China Weekly Review.

Forget About It

To The Editor:

It is strange to say that although Chengtu is the "capital of China's rice-bowl" province of Szechuen and situated in one of the most fertile plains in the Southwest, there has been an acute rice shortage here recently. Only three months ago, rice was CNC$120,000 per tan here, but now the price has soared to over CNC$1,000,000, almost 10 times the previous figure and higher even than that of Shanghai, while in Chungking, more populated and only 300 miles away, the rice is just a little over $300,000 per tan, that is, about one-fourth of it. In some other parts of the province, the rate is still lower.

In the opinion of some economists, the causes of this abnormal rise can be traced as follows: (1) the issue of $10,000 notes, (2) the recent flood, which submerged some of the rice producing areas; (3) rapacious bureaucrats' speculation. Weighing the different reasons, we have found that the last one is mainly responsible for the current trouble.

At the end of last month when the Provincial People's Political Council was in session here, it received a letter telling of how quite a few thousand tans of rice were hoarded in a certain place in Hsingtu, some 15 miles away by Mr. Tun Hwa Min, eldest son of Governor Tun Hsi Hou, and general manager of the Tung Hui Industrial Bank. Everybody knows that Tun is a great speculator in rice and has amassed an immense fortune. Through his family influence, he is always immune from the law. So when the investigators were sent to him, they came back with the report that it was all government foodstuff stores. It is just a face saving evasion and face is of much importance in China's politics. Since the Government controls all the newspapers, nobody dares criticize it publicly and these councilors are more representative of the Government than of the people, therefore there was nothing to be done but forget about it. It all disappeared like a bubble.

Another well-known hoarder here is Madame Liu, widow of the late Governor Liu Hsiang who died at Hankow when China's War against Japan was at its height. This "tigress," as she is usually dubbed, is a land owner of tens of thousands of acres. These two, with their cohorts of greedy merchants and underlings and cooperating with some top officials, combined to control the rice market here and made as much money as possible from the people's pockets.

We know that Chengtu is largely a cultural and political center. The salaried class consists mostly of public servants and educational workers. Their average pay is much lower than that in eastern China. With this meagre income, they have to make a living as high as that in Shanghai or Nanking. They cannot support themselves, let alone their familes. The condition of the lower class is still worse. Last month, thousands of hungry people appeared in the streets and grabbed at everything edible in sight, doing what they call the "Big-House Feeding." This city has not witnessed such a scene for 100 years. Yet our cold-blooded bigshots, protected well by their

THE CHINA WEEKLY REVIEW

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guards, seemed unmoved by all this and the rice is getting higher and scarcer here every day despite the new harvest. Governor Tun has repeatedly declared his resolution to suppress this man-made rice shortage and punish those speculative merchants. But while several petty hoarders of a few tans might be thrown into prison, the bigger ones can never be caught. When a thief is being chased, he joins with the others and cries "get him." This is actually what we find here in Szechuen.

A RICE VICTIM.

Chengtu,
August 31, 1947.

Who Is What?

To The Editor:

One of the best examples of how the Kuomintang is selling China's sovereignty down the river is the fashion in which General Wedemeyer (he is not a Chinese general) has been given "facilities" to inspect every corner of this country controlled by the party in power. It is hard to imagine any other sovereign country allowing an outsider to poke his snout into its own garden, and on departing render the verdict: "Geez, you guys smell!" China's leading paper has noted that Wedemeyer's attitude and behavior has bordered on the behavior of a prosecutor.

Of course the foregoing is not the first time that such things have happened. Marshall also left and said: "Geez, you guys are lousy!" And this is not the main point. The vital issue is that the local press has consistently tried to lead the reader to believe that Wedemeyer inspected "China" and his report will be instrumental in deciding whether "China" will get American aid. The thinking reader should realize that Wedemeyer inspected the KMT bailiwick and aid will be given only one party in this country, namely, the KMT. I think the Communists have won a moral point just because Wedemeyer did not tour their areas. And I also doubt if they would have welcomed him, had he expressed the desire. Wedemeyer, being a shrewd man, decided to remain this side of the lines.

All this talk about "self-help" the while mouths are driveling in expectation of a shower of US dollars is quite amusing. Well, what's stopping us from helping ourselves? The Communists? Well, what's stopping the Communists from helping themselves? They seem to be doing okay without greenbacks from Wedemeyer. (For those who will rush in with charges that the Soviets are helping the Reds, I will point out that neither the *New York Times*, nor the *New York Herald Tribune* correspondents have been able to discover Soviet aid to the Reds and have said so in their papers.)

Therefore, the question arises: why is it that while the Chinese on both sides of the Civil War belong to the same race and nation, one of the sides suddenly discovers that it can't go on without US dollars? It humiliates itself to the extent of taking "without comment" Wedemeyer's parting slap in the face, and asserts it is nothing—merely friendly and impartial criticism. But who wants to be criticized? If we're going the right way, who has the right to criticize us?

Wedemeyer has been lauded as a "wise and honest man" in the local press. Editorial writers have written lines and lines of analysis of his parting statement. But to the average man who is not trying to kid either himself or the public with high sounding phrases, Wedemeyer's statement did not contain either wisdom or honesty. What he said about corruption is known in China to every school boy. And what he said about the Communists trying to impose ideologies by armed force was plain dishonest. Isn't

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Wedemeyer's Government trying to impose its dollar ideology through the Truman Doctrine and the Marshall plan? Isn't helping one side in the Civil War imposing ideologies? Plainly, the general's opinion of the mental capacity of the lao pai hsing is extremely unflattering.

In a previous issue of your magazine a letter urged readers to THINK FIRST! That's essential: when you listen to General Wedemeyer talk about aiding "China" think for a moment as to who's getting the dough....

Y. F. S.

Shanghai,
August 30, 1947.

Lesson From U.S.

To The Editor:

Instead of taking a lesson from America, some Chinese papers seem to be getting hurt and indignant at the farewell message delivered by General Wedemeyer. In an editorial yesterday, the *Sin Wan Pao* ballyhooed the fact that China is an ancient country, that Chinese history and literature are replete with wise lores and maxims on philosophy and morality, and that if we wish to learn the meaning of virtue, we could turn to any page and find it there.

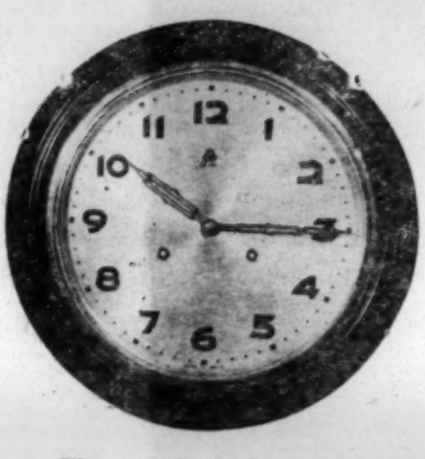
This may be very well. But it is one thing to read about virtue and another to realize it, far less to practise it. A thing may be very common, but it takes a lot of time to learn it. Besides, regarding western understanding of virtue, Chinese scholars have a hazy conception of it. Social consciousness is a term they have yet to learn. Freedom of thought, initiative, progressive action, cooperation and collectivism are some of the social fibres that made America what she is today in less than 200 years. Despite 2,000 years of moral codes and Confucian teachings, China has been static. The average person cannot even get food, not to mention those who are already starving.

It has been said that there is no country in the world where life and property are so well protected as in England, because England is ruled by law. This is one of the reasons why the English people became prosperous, and it was through the enlightenment of her people that England rose to become an Empire, all within the last 300 years.

It was the people who looked after the government, not the government after the people. But the government directed them wisely. In China, however, all through history, the government has tended to keep the people down and misdirect them by imbuing them with Confucianism and feudalistic ideals and thoughts — a similarity to totalitarianism and Nazism. It was a glory to get into the service of the government—to become officials—not realizing that the government should be in the service of the people and not the people in the service of the government.

In the western countries, people are taught to keep "within" the law and "out of" politics, but when you are in the government, then do your job well and "keep out of" the law. The officials are held responsible to their nation. But Chinese thoughts are: get into the government if you can, (升官發財) and you will have the privilege of disregarding the law. Such are some of the divergencies between western and eastern sentiment—no wonder we are Orientals. Yet Orientals without re-orientation. Why not take a tip from "Our Honorable Guest?"

Another thing is the Chinese conception of a Great Man, the Superman—an Emperor, perhaps. The Emperor arises, wields his Heavenly Power, oppresses the mass and keeps it down, thereby "uplifting" the Nation. They think the ship lifts the sea and not the sea the ship. In western countries: keep up the level



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of the people and the country will float and prosper. Otherwise, the people will kick. But here: keep their level down, to avoid being kicked or leave them no chance to kick.

Our good scholar reiterates that he is already versed in "Shenshin, chika, chekuo, pintinshia," (修身，齊家，治國，平天下 i.e. control thyself, manage thy family, govern thy country, and level the world, as though this is an answer to the problem.

But, in fact, this sort of ideology smacks of totalitarianism; it is certainly not democratic. Again it appears that reams and reams of maxims are written in Chinese books, but they are of no avail. They complicate matters. No wonder, then, that westerners appreciate the old proverb by the "Greatest Man in the World," which says: "Unless you become as a little child, you will nowise enter into the Kingdom of Heaven," which means the attainment of happiness both mundane and spiritual by being simple and willing to learn. General Wedemeyer's words are simple lessons. I say: take a tip.

CHI YU.

Shanghai,
August 27, 1947.

How Strange!

To The Editor:

When I read the news recently that one of the richest men in Honan, whose name is Chu Chin-tong, had been arrested for addiction to opium, I was cheerful and pleased to see the Government's anti-opium policy being put into effect.

Later, all the newspapers criticized the fact that Chu was being taken to Nanking to be tried by the Ministry of National Defense instead of being tried here immediately. They knew that it was just a trick of Chu's for he would be able to bribe his way out of the affair once in Nanking. If this should be true then I would support the newspapers and believe that the Government is really a bureaucratic one.

Then I heard from many different sources that Chu was arrested because he refused to pay a CNC$40,000,000 bribe to the Anti-Opium Supervisory Officer, and that the reason the papers were all against him was because he would not pay them another bribe of CNC$10,000,000.

All the newspapermen had met at one of the papers' office and had determined that the above sum should be split up as follows: CNC$3,000,000 for the relief of refugee students from northern Honan, CNC$2,000,000 for the Honan Provincial Council to use as it pleased, and the remaining CNC$5,000,000 to be divided between the newspapermen themselves.

How strange it is! If this sort of thing goes on then democracy will never come to us and the people will never believe anything they read in the newspapers in future. Here, I should add that Chu Chin-tong is actually a drug addict.

C. C. LOU.

Kaifeng, Honan,
August 28, 1947.

Another Reader?

To The Editor:

For General Dwight Eisenhower, Chief of Staff, U.S. Army, herewith I enclose sufficient money to cover a subscription to the *Review* from August 1, 1947 to January 31, 1948. This is to sound an affirmative resonance to the drive advocated in your August 9 issue by a gentleman whose pen name was quoted as "A Wedemeyer Friend To Be."

True, the situation in the Far East is now worsening. China is to play a leading role in the establishment of co-security in the postwar world. Being excited by the daily deteriorating phases developing within this country, I am beginning to doubt that U.S. policy toward China is fitting and proper in the light of existing events. However, it will not be a fact of unilateral benefit to one side, but of common interest to all concerned, in a large sense, should our American friend be afforded the chance to read an influential periodical published in the Far East, which takes such an impartial and farsighted stand as the *Review*.

During the latter part of World War II, from the battle of Tunis, through the landing campaign in Normandy, I fully acknowledge that General Eisenhower is not only a genius in strategy but also a man of justice in the political field. Personally I have been a worshipper of the General. That is also why I wish to invite the General's close attention to the time-honored *Review*.

Without the least idea of fishing for compliments, I would like to emphasize that I am not a well-to-do person, nor am I restricted by any so-called "party" in China. Speaking from the standpoint of an honest free-thinker, all my hope is for nothing but that China should be kindly understood at this crucial juncture, or to be remedied in one way or another with the unreserved, unselfish help from her friend Uncle Sam, based on the genuine spirit of righteousness as well as a farsighted policy.

DONALD CHAO.

Tsingtao,
August 30, 1947.

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For Sen. Vandenberg

To The Editor:

The gentleman who suggests sending copies of the *Review* to Americans who —formulate or implement our policy in China—is to be congratulated. Some of those he mentions are hopeless bigots, whose inherent reactionaryism could not be changed, even by exposure to the truth. Some, however, are merely abysmally uninformed, particularly the Congressmen.

Subscribing to the *Review* for a Congressman may prove to be the only way to bridge the chasm of distortions, halftruths, and mystic twiddle-twaddle between the Congressman and the realities of China, which chasm is constantly and busily being widened by irresponsible and perhaps vicious publications in America.

Believe it or not, our Congressmen are almost completely dependent on the public press for their information about China The carefully compiled reports of our various governmental organizations in China, are frequently kept from them for reasons of security!!

It is well worth a few thousand CNC to me to supply one of our Congressional leaders with the "secret" facts known to everyone in China. I therefore enclose the sum of CNC$100,000 for a subscription for Sen. Arthur Vandenberg, starting with the first issue in June.

AN AMERICAN.

Shanghai,
August 25, 1947.

Only One Solution

To The Editor:

It seems to me that General Wedemeyer's mission would influence quite a lot the future outcome of the Chinese situation. Much has been talked about, and many suggestions have been made. As I am a Chinese university student I don't see why I should not express some of my own views, and I dare say that I may represent a part of the Chinese students if not the majority.

No matter how confused the situation is in China, in my opinion, it is only a simple question of: "Democracy or no democracy," therefore there is only one solution to the present situation in China that is the establishment of a truly democratic coalition government.

If General Wedemeyer is thinking of both the interests of the U.S. and the 450,000,000 Chinese people, this is the only solution; otherwise General Wedemeyer should be thinking of: "pull out of China completely, withdraw even moral support to the Government." All the other alternatives, General Wedemeyer should choose, will be against the will of the Chinese people.

I must say that I have never misunderstood the friendship of the American people, and I have always liked them, but since the return of Marshall last year, after he had successfully mediated between parties, to this country I began to doubt the U.S. policy. It is not too late to reestablish Chinese-American friendship, but it is up to the decision of General Wedemeyer.

WANG CHUEI-RHEN.

Shanghai,
August 25, 1947.

Of Scanty Income-III

To The Editor:

Your kind expiration notifications and subscription renewal forms came to hand long ago, but I could find no words to answer you because I was very disappointed by lack of money.

When I received your latest letter I thought over your earnest kindness to your ex-subscriber.

I am a poor teacher, who cannot get his pay in the vacation month of August. I have tried every means to send you a money order, but in vain.

I greatly enjoy the *Review* because it gives me correct information and sound knowledge. I take it for granted that I will have the sum and renew my subscription in the near future. Provided you are in a position to do me an exceptional favor, and mail me the *Review* on credit. (I don't ask for free copies or any help from other sources. Although I am poor for the time being, I am sure that I can budget this money.)

I will send you the required amount before September 15. Let God stand surety for me !

K. F. C.

Mowming, Kwangtung,
August 18, 1947.

Humorous Poem

To The Editor:

When I read your letter and *Review* of June 21, I do not know what to say. Your *Review* is for democracy and freedom of speech. I love it and I want it, but now I cannot continue to read it. The only reason is shortage of money. I have written a humorous poem you may like to read:

A teacher am I:
No money in my hands,
In morning I get salary,
By evening no money to save.
Not that I spend it aimlessly:
But my burden is too heavy.
Dear Editor,
Now let me say goodbye
In the near future, I hope, I
Can read it,
Happily.

C. C. L.

Lanchow, Kansu,
August 11, 1947.

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To The Editor:

As my subscription is about to expire, and as I wish to renew same, there is attached to this letter a check which will be sufficient to cover my one year's subscription plus two six month subscriptions, one of which I would suggest be sent to; T. S. S., Lintung, Shensi, whose letter you recently published revealing that his finances did not permit him to continue his subscription. I would suggest that the other six months' subscription be sent to another worthy case which you may select. I recall that in your issue of July 10, Y. C. C., Chungking, indicated that he was in a similar position to T. S. S.

I shall be glad if you will be good enough to send the two six months subscriptions to the parties indicated above or to others you may select.

CHESTER FRITZ.

Hongkong,
September 1, 1947.

Romanization

To The Editor:

I am sure that too many letters on the practicability of romanization of the Chinese language have already occupied considerable space in your honorable publication, and at the same time many of your readers must feel tired of reading them. However, I still beg you to grant me a little space to say a few more words on this subject, which should in a nutshell be discussed among Chinese and in Chinese.

The letter signed by the gentleman Chi Yu on page 337 of August 23 issue of your *Review* is full of wisdom and ingenious ideas. This gentleman is not only a profound scholar in his mother tongue, but a scholar in Latin as well. But, unfortunately, romanization and translation of several Chinese characters mentioned in his letter is misleading and much to be desired. To help our foreign friends to understand better, I beg to make the following alterations:

1. tsin yin 呻吟 should be seng yuing
2. din shee 殿屎 should be tien ssu
3. chenkoo 叫苦 should be chao ku
4. pagee 白字 should be 別字 (meaning another or wrong character)
5. your humble one 鄙人 should be a humble person
6. Your man 本人 should be I myself

I hope sincerely that no more on this subject will be discussed in your *Review*. Many thanks for your kindness.

TAI MEI-LENG.

Shanghai,
August 23, 1947.

Suggestion

To The Editor:

In answer to your call for comments, may I take the opportunity to suggest to you that once in a while you should spare a page or two for opening a literary section to print some English stories selected from American or other English written journals. This perhaps may be not in accord with the traditional stand of your journal, but in view of the fact that most of the readers do not have easy access to foreign periodicals in which they can read such stories, I think this suggestion, if realized, may create some new interest towards your esteemed journal on the side of the readers.

YEN CHIA-LU.

Kweiyang, Kwangsi,
August 27, 1947.

For 3 Months

To The Editor:

With reference to a letter appearing in your issue of August 16, under the heading "A Little Longer," by F. M. P., Kiangwan, Shanghai, enclosed please find a cheque for CNC$65,000 covering a three months subscription on behalf of the writer of this letter.

M. L. S.

Shanghai,
August 31, 1947.

Of Scanty Income---IV

To The Editor:

A regular reader of the *Review* since it resumed publication after V-J Day would not forget to renew his subscription unless he was unable to afford to pay the rate. I used to have at home copies of the *Wen Wei Pao*, and later the *Ta Kung Pao*, besides the *Review*, but I had to discontinue them from July, so as to save an amount of CNC$100,000 from my monthly expenditure.

The decision to suspend the subscriptions was not reached until after we had cut two pieces of tomato from my wife's daily diet—she is a T. B. spine patient—so as to save CNC$60,000 monthly.

These are hard times, Editor. We all have long seen our necessities being cut down item by item. Perhaps it is harder for my wife, a bedridden patient, to discontinue reading them, for it means depriving her of contact with the world.

I hope the suspension of reading the *Review* will be temporary. You may trust to have my name on your readers' list again as soon as the treatment of civil servants is bettered.

P. L. S.

Kulungsu, Foochow,
August 29, 1947.

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Race Inequality

To The Editor:

Recently there has been much talk about ONE WORLD and all men being created equal. If there is any sign of an anti-foreign spirit in China, foreign correspondents make mountains out of mole hills by broadcasting the big news abroad. On the other hand, when there exists racial prejudice and discrimination involving foreigners and Chinese, especially in cases involving Americans and Chinese, the Chinese victim does not know where or to whom he should express his grievance.

I wish our worthy readers of the *Review* to take note of the following incident which took place at 2.50 p.m. on August 27 on the premises of the Navy and Army Y.M.C.A., the authorities of which prohibit any Chinese from entering the premises, whether he is accompanied by foreigners or simply invited to call on his foreign friends staying in their dormitories.

Three American missionaries arrived in Shanghai from America, and being perfect strangers to the city they needed a Chinese Christian friend to be their guide. As I had a letter of introduction to them from another missionary friend, I was very happy to entertain my Christian friends in this strange city upon their arrival. These gentlemen are now living at the Foreign Y.M.C.A.

On the afternoon of August 27, my friends needed certain information from the office of the Navy 'Y' and asked me to go along with them as their guide. At the entrance to the building we met a Chinese constable of whom I asked permission to go upstairs with my friends. He answered with nose in the air that no Chinese, no matter who he is, is allowed to enter the door under any condition. I repeatedly bade him to allow me to go upstairs for a few minutes with my American friends and to accompany us if he wished.

Without a word of warning, the policeman suddenly grasped me by the breast the way he handles a convicted criminal, so that I could hardly breathe. The incident attracted the attention of many passersby who came to intervene, and after five minutes I was released due to the good offices of the mediators.

An incident such as this rarely happens even among barbaric tribes. Should they ignore this warning, my compatriots may sustain the same assault as I. Can the authorities of the Navy "Y" not see that such an incident as this creates international ill-feeling and racial discrimination? Is there any glory or pride in treating Chinese in such an out-of-date manner?

"No dogs and Chinese allowed," a two-decade ago signpost used by British diehards in Shanghai is now repolished and used by the American Army and Navy authorities here.

BEN Y. LEE,
China Textile Industries, Inc.

Shanghai,
August 30, 1947.

Dream Stuff

To The Editor:

I am sorry to say that it has been a long time since I last wrote to you. I have not seen any copies of the *Review* because my pockets have been penniless, but I have been thinking about it always.

Two months ago I left my native place —Shangzao—to come to Shanghai to take the entrance examination to university. Unfortunately, the facts showed me that free tuition in universities has been abolished this summer and that the poor students' subsidy is a mere 20 percent. Suddenly, a golden dream of study was broken. Indeed, how dare such a poor fellow as I dream of entering the golden gate?

Now, through my brother's introduction, I am a clerk in an electrical factory. Though my salary is low, yet I am proud that I am able to support myself. I now wish to subscribe to the *Review* again. Next month my first salary will come to hand and I will send you some payments for the *Review* in due time. I hope one day I can meet my sincere friend again; how happy I would be if such a day comes!

YEN YI WONG.

Shanghai,
September 3, 1947.

Rather Be Beggars

To The Editor:

It is a curious thing that most of the young men in Shanghai are very much afraid of being called upon to offer military service to their nation. We must, however, understand what has happened in the last 10 years. When the Sino-Japanese war began, everyone was very brave and patriotic enough to sacrifice his life for his country. Many students preferred military service of some sort or special secret work fighting the common enemy. But now the situation is quite different. Most of them are resigning their positions and running away, and would rather be beggars than soldiers. It is obvious that the men of today are not what they were in former days.

Mayor Wu asked recently why most Chinese are so afraid of military service? He said that not only China but the whole world follows such a system. As for that, let us take America as an example. First, her internal situation does not involve any civil strife, but mere political wrangling. Second, her soldiers have better equipment and enjoy their life in the army. In that nation there is no need to force people into military service. Therefore, a country must do good for the people or otherwise they lose their faith in the government.

The Chinese Government has certainly lost the people's faith because there is a discrepancy between its theories and its

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practices. So finally, on a very important question it finds it is unable to rouse the people's faith. A government needs the support of the people, otherwise it cannot exist. It is like a man who has reached the third stage of tuberculosis. Even though he may be very rich and have good doctors yet the time comes when it is too late for him to be cured.

FREDERICK Z. WOOD.

Shanghai,
August 30, 1947.

Who On Earth?

To The Editor:

Concerning the letter of Mr. Chi Yu in your issue of August 23 on romanization, may I offer the remark that there is some reason why we should not write letters to each other by spelling the vocal language. The simple expression (白字), for instance, is spelled "bairtzyh" according to the official Chinese romanization, "pai-tzu" according to the Wade-Giles romanization, and "pagee" by your correspondent. Who on earth, without knowledge of the characters, would recognize the same expression behind these three romanizations?

FIH-KIU.

Peiping, Hopeh,
August 27, 1947.

He Stayed For Dinner

To The Editor:

One of my chief reasons for sending you this is because you can disclose facts in the *Review* which no other paper or magazine in China can do because they are controlled by this so-called democratic Government.

The facts are as follows: A low-ranking officer, in charge of collecting the house rent tax, called on me about one week ago. After showing me his credentials and stating the purpose of his visit, he told me that the godown which we lease from a certain steamship company should be taxed 28 percent of its rent per month. The rent we paid for all land and floating properties in every port is only CNC$1 per month so the Government can only tax us CNC$28 per month. Then the officer told me that the cost of the godown should be estimated according to its present building cost.

"It would be CNC$400,000,000," he said, "And the rent tax you should pay is, therefore, CNC$12,000,000 every three months." As he left my office he added, "I hope you will consider this, and I shall return tomorrow."

I pondered over this matter at great length, and at last realized what he meant. The next day he came again, accompanied by another officer of the same rank. We talked together and at last they promised to reduce the tax to CNC$840,000 for three months—a big difference from the figure of the day before. But, there was an attached condition that we should pay CNC$2,000,000 extra to the two officers as a "personal gift." When things were settled, we had dinner together.

As General Wedemeyer mentioned in his final statement from Nanking, "corruption" dwells not only in Nanking, but also in many provincial and municipal governments in present day China.

H. Y. C.

Hankow,
August 30, 1947.

IMPORTANT NOTICE

THE *China Weekly Review* will not publish anonymous letters in these columns. Every letter intended for publication must bear the writer's NAME and ADDRESS, for the information of the editors. In cases of group petitions, statements or announcements, the letter must be signed by a responsible official or delegate, likewise for the information of the *Review*. If it is specifically pointed out that the author wishes to have his letter published under an assumed name, or his initials, this will be complied with, and his identity will not be divulged. However, as said above, in all instances must the *Review* be aware of the identity of the writer if he expects to see his communication appearing in these columns.—*EDITOR.*

Ostrich Like

To The Editor:

Under the caption "MENTION OF BLACK MARKET" I find the following item in the *China Press* of August 30:

"Mention of the trend of black market exchange rates appeared in a report on page 5 of Thursday's issue of this newspaper. As such reference was against the economic emergency decree of last February, note will be taken not to have same repeated in the future."

Of course, one should not speak of the black market nor compare white rates and black rates. This, naturally, helps the black marketeers who, I guess, learn these quotations from newspapers.

It seems, there would have been no cold had not someone invented coal and there would have been no rain without the existence of the unpleasant guild of umbrella manufacturers.

I have heard that when attacked, ostriches bury their heads into the sand. But zoologists say this story is untrue. The ostrich, they say, is not as silly as all that.

OSCAR.

Shanghai,
September 1, 1947.

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A Weekly Newspaper Established in 1917

The editorial pages present each week the opinions of the editor. The other pages of The China Weekly Review are written by the other members of the staff and the contributing editors who report and interpret the news irrespective of the views expressed in the editorials.

Vol. 107 Shanghai, Saturday, September 6, 1947 No. 1

Teacher's Day In China

CONFUCIUS is said to have accomplished much towards "dignifying the teaching profession in China." Confucius, as we have been advised, himself an indefatigable teacher, exhorted the people to "revere your teacher and follow his precepts." China's teachers have taken cognizance of this fact and last week were supposed to have payed homage to the Great Sage on the occasion of his birthday.

From official sources we learn that since Confucius' death 2,455 years ago, his birthday has always been a red letter day for Chinese teachers, and on this anniversary — which is a national holiday—"local authorities and public bodies pay their respects to the teaching profession." It is therefore fit to inquire whether besides respects, wages are also paid China's teachers which would allow them to live in the dignity of their profession.

The Nanking Teachers' Association has raised CNC$16,000,000 as gifts to teachers with outstanding records. Apart from these gifts extended to accomplished educators, nothing sensational has been undertaken on the national scale to alleviate the everyday burdens of life of this most "respected" part of Chinese society. This is understandable, of course, since education and educators in the China of today occupy an extremely low station on the social ladder.

A teacher, whether he is charged with forming the minds of primary or middle school students, must at least have the chance to keep abreast of the times. To guarantee such activity on the part of the teacher, funds are required wherewith to purchase the necessary books and subscribe to newspapers and magazines, both at home and abroad. No one will dispute the fact that the more scientific, literary, political and economic material an educator or teacher peruses the better teacher he will become, and the higher the standard of his pupils. Yet the majority of China's teachers do not even enjoy this elementary right of keeping abreast of the times: they are unable not only to subscribe to periodicals abroad or order books from foreign countries but most teachers do not have the means to become regular readers of local magazines and newspapers.

The teacher's right to decent quarters and wholesome food is undisputed. Being primarily a human being a teacher is supposed to be insured against a sub-marginal existence by the Principle of The People's Livelihood. And since it is admitted even in official quarters that the teacher enjoys neither the livelihood nor the facilities for intellectual development, his plight is doubly tragic.

* * *

THE *China Weekly Review* receives numerous letters from every strata of the Chinese people. We receive a great number of letters from China's teachers and publish some in the magazine. And what strikes the reader most potently is the fact that *invariably* a Chinese teacher insists on beginning his letter with the following words:

"Being only a poor primary school teacher. . . ."

This very same phrase has been and is being written by thousands of Chinese teachers and even professors who tell us that "unfortunately" they are not able to continue their subscriptions to this magazine, because their salaries are sub-marginal. Before parting with us, our teacher-readers always insist that they "love" us dearly, and want to "meet us again in the future, when my salary improves." In their often faulty English, these teachers attempt to describe how badly they will miss this English-language publication, but that, nevertheless, they will attempt to read it elsewhere, when the occasion arises. For a typical letter from one of China's teachers, the reader is invited to peruse a *Humorous Poem*, on page 5 of this issue. The simple words penned by this Chinese arouse the deepest pity, yet there is hardly any bitterness in his lines. So used must the common people have become to suffering and privation that they have practically become immune to vengeful satire.

The foregoing is not intended in the way of canvassing for additional subscribers to the *Review*. But when it is realized that this publication is the only one of its kind in China today, and besides is sold practically at cost, it will be evident how adverse indeed is the destiny that has befallen China's teachers. What is a teacher supposed to read, if he is unable to subscribe to a periodical published in his own country and sold in CNC? How is he ever to acquaint himself with the articles of, say, American educators appearing in Stateside magazines? It seems that the Chinese teacher must content himself with the knowledge he has luckily acquired in the past and teach his students the wisdom of bygone ages. In such a situation China can hope, at best, to remain at one level, but there is no possibility of her catching up with the West.

* * *

TO support themselves, teachers have been forced to work on other jobs besides teaching. They teach, as it were, in their spare time. Teach-

ing, in China, has practically become a hobby: only the greatest enthusiasts stick to the game.

Several months ago we used to receive regular complaints from students of Chinese universities saying that no attention was being paid to the expansion of college libraries, there were no periodicals, and new books did not appear on the shelves. Of late these complaints have ceased to come in. We suspect that this is not because the situation has changed. We fear this is rather a sign of disillusionment on the part of the young generation of knowledge seekers, who have resigned themselves to their fate. After all, how long can one persist in knocking at a door that never opens?

We are here concerned solely with the minimum demands of teachers and the education profession in general: livelihood and facilities for intellectual progress. From all reports it appears that China's teachers do not enjoy even this minimum, a level below which there can neither be teaching nor education. In this light, the observance of Teacher's Day with panegyrics and eulogies to the greatest of China's teachers—Confucius—is highly ironic.

The fact that "deserving" teachers are prompted to emulation through "gifts" from all kinds of societies, only tends to degrade the calling. Teachers are not beggars and need no alms. They are citizens with certain rights which are augmented by the fact that their activity is intended to bring up future citizens for this country. As such they have a right to claim an appropriate portion of the national budget, both for their livelihood and mental exercises.

Siam Today

(Editorial Correspondence)

Bangkok, August 28.

SIAM, the only country of Southeast Asia which has managed to escape the formal yoke of foreign colonialism, today presents a pleasant contrast to the traveler who has grown accustomed to a seemingly endless succession of lands in which the paramount problem is the conflict between the native population which desires to govern itself and a colonial power from Europe which hopes to resume its pre-war position of directing the destinies of a "backward" people.

This small kingdom, however, has its share of post-war problems. While nominally independent, it is to some extent subservient to foreign powers. A large part of its foreign trade, for instance, is handled through the British. It is said that approximately 80 percent of its mining industry is controlled by English and Australian interests, while the major portion of the country's other types of commerce is in the hands of Chinese merchants. A border dispute, never settled to Siam's satisfaction, has led to strained relations with the French in Indo-China. While France has now succeeded in recovering all claimed territory for Indo-China, the French charge that the Siamese have supplied Vietnam with arms and facilitated their smuggling across the Indo-China border.

Post-war inflation, depleted foreign exchange reserves, lack of essential capital goods from abroad and an apparently not too efficient government contribute to the country's difficulties, but Siam's greatest single problem is the question of a Chinese minority which may some day become a "majority."

It was not until after the Japanese defeat that Siam and China entered into formal diplomatic relations. In the past Siam had declined to have such relations because she feared that a Chinese ambassador would become the official spokesman for Siam's estimated 3,000,000 to 4,000,000 Chinese residents who, comprising perhaps one-fifth or more of the country's population, have always constituted an acute minority problem. Following V-J Day, with China's emergence as one of the victorious Big Five, Siam had but little choice in the matter. Bangkok and Nanking exchanged ambassadors and the Siamese Government repealed various laws restricting the activities of Chinese in the country. Except for some rioting late in 1945, relations apparently have been peaceful, at least on the surface.

Competent observers in Bangkok point out that at present there is no "crisis" in Siamese-Chinese relationships, despite the fact that Chinese protests over discriminatory treatment, along with Siamese counter-protests of meddling in the internal affairs of Siam, are made almost daily. It is felt that a large part of these mutual complaints are not based on real facts but are mainly designed for political propaganda purposes and that at the moment relations between the two races are relatively peaceful and harmonious.

However, it appears that there is a potential danger for the future, unless China and Siam handle with extreme care the conflicts which are sure to develop from time to time. Basically, the points of contention are the same here as in other Far Eastern countries where there are large Chinese populations. Siam's Chinese have, through hard work and superior ability, secured a dominant position in the country's economy. In general, the Siamese are the farmers and the rulers, while virtually all trade and commerce is in the hands of the Chinese. As the Chinese become more prosperous, the Siamese farmer or worker is more inclined to blame the Chinese "middle man" for economic or other difficulties that come along. Meanwhile, the Chinese, feeling themselves open to attack tend to lean more and more heavily upon China for protection and to request more and more guarantees and special privileges. The dynamite in such a situation is obvious. Only careful and moderate consideration of all problems by both sides can ensure that the two peoples can live side by side in peace.

Did It End?

OFFICIALLY, martial law has been lifted last week. The Ministry of National Defense instructed the local garrison forces to announce the measure and, theoretically, martial law ended with the official notification. But the question still remains: did it end?

Only a couple of days after the law was officially relegated to the back shelves for use in an emergency, the local press reported a fracas between soldiers and bus drivers and conductors, which held up traffic along one of the city's main thoroughfares for some time. Bus windows were smashed and a number of soldiers and busmen were arrested by the police and later turned over to the garrison command. The incident in itself may appear insignificant. But if it is realized that this recent fight between soldiers and busmen (and policemen, ricksha and pedicab coolies, etc., etc.,) is only one link in a series of disturbances in which soldiers have been prominent protagonists, it will be clear that the incident is not just an accident.

A usually authoritative dictionary defines "martial law" as "the law administered by the military power of a government when it has superseded the civil authority, as in time of war or serious civil disturbance." Officially civil law has now superseded martial law, but the rule of the military, though unsupported legally, continues to supersede civilian law. This is the manner in which the civilian part of the population is virtually terrorized by the soldiers. It is not of foreigners we speak here but of the common Chinese people, including policemen, busmen, pedicab coolies, ricksha pullers, hawkers and stall keepers.

There appear to be hundreds of thousands of persons in uniform in this city, and it is not easy to say who of them are soldiers and whether they have been authorized to wear military garb. A large number of these people have no insignia of any sort and wear a drab kind of green with a badge or two. It is, therefore, difficult to say whether they are soldiers or just employees of some government agency. However that may be, the local citizen soon comes to realize that the man in uniform considers himself if not some kind of Superman, at least a variety of Alley Oop, to ire, whom is the worse part of discretion, not to say valor. These martial individuals consistently ignore traffic lights when cycling, never pay bus or street car fares, and until recently insisted on seeing free shows. The brand of their truck driving is a subject for analysis in itself.

Local civilians submit rather meekly to this overbearing attitude on the part of the uniformed personnel, but it seems that once in a while the limit of endurance is reached and a fracas ensues. In these circumstances, is it quite logical to say that "martial law" has been lifted?

Martial law, or the rule of the military, will then be considered as lifted (and reimposed only in emergencies) when the uniformed part of the nation will be forced to concede that the mere donning of a uniform does not elevate it above the crowd, nor render it less immune to the ordinary laws of everyday life in a large city such as the paying of street car fares, standing in line for whatever it may be, and waiting for the right of way.

The foregoing ideal is naturally very difficult to achieve within a short period of time. However, the Ministry of National Defense should bear in mind that the mere ordering of martial law to be lifted does not as yet eliminate the predominance of the military in the life of this city. As long as these frequent clashes continue to occur between soldiers and civilians (and particularly employees of public utilities) a solution for martial law will not have been found.

25 Years Ago In The Weekly Review Of The Far East

Government In Business

September 9, 1922.

SEVERAL foreign firms which have been doing business in North China for several years have recently closed their offices in Peking and henceforth will either conduct their business dealings with the Chinese Government from Tientsin or will not bother about their business with the Government at all. The closing of these business offices in Peking indicates the decreasing importance of the Chinese Government in foreign business circles and may not be an unmixed blessing. Large orders placed by the Government in the last few years when Peking was prosperous (on borrowed money) has caused many foreign firms to unduly emphasize the Peking end of their general business in China. Business dealings with a government are scarcely ever satisfactory under the best conditions, orders usually being accompanied by exorbitant commissions and entertainment expenses for officials that make the business unprofitable in the long run.

* * *

Business Still Bad

BUSINESS in China is still bad, perhaps worse than it has been at any time since the world panic of 1908. The bumper crop of this harvest which ordinarily would have brought such wealth to the villages and such buying of imported piece goods and lumber will have to be consumed locally at prices altogether below the export value of the commodity. And imports will stay out of the land, because the purchasing power of the people is lessened. China is part of the world economic system and is as seriously affected by the question of reparations as France and Germany.

* * *

10 Years Ago In The China Weekly Review

The Losers

September 4, 1937.

WHOEVER may claim to be the winners in the present carnage, there is no doubt as to who are the losers. They are the ordinary Chinese civilian population. We have seen no reliable figures of the number of humble, inoffensive civilians —men, women, and children—killed and mangled at Tientsin and elsewhere in North China, but in Shanghai and vicinity they mount up to the thousands—many times greater than the number of military casualties on both sides. In the foreign concessions of Shanghai, the area supposed to be "outside" the zone of hostilities, the appalling total of deaths is fairly definite —some 2,000 persons, besides an equal or greater number more or less seriously injured, many crippled for life.

* * *

Apology Demanded

SIR Hughe Montgomery Knatchbull-Hugessen, the British Ambassador to China, is lying seriously wounded in the Country Hospital as the result of an attack by a Japanese airplane which rained machinegun bullets on the auto in which he was driving from Nanking to Shanghai on the afternoon of August 26. Before leaving Nanking, the party had notified the Chinese authorities in order to ensure safe conduct, but the Japanese had not been informed—as the car would be traveling only through Chinese lines. The incident evoked deep indignation in Britain. The Japs contended that the British flag had only been flown from the radiator of the car and had not been prominent enough, but the British stated that the flag was actually spread across the top of the car.

Macao Hits The Doldrums

JOHN W. POWELL

MACAO, long renowned as the Monte Carlo of the China coast, today has fallen upon bad times. The gambling houses are rather tawdry and only half filled, while the luxurious opium dens of the past are non-existent. Macao now bears a closer resemblance to the many medium-sized towns of South China, such as Kweilin and Kanhsien or the towns along the East River in Kwangtung than it does to a fabulous resort for sin on the China coast.

From a high point reached during the days of the Pacific War when Chinese, Portuguese and other refugees from Jap-occupied Hongkong swelled its population, this small peninsula—a Portuguese concession on the Kwangtung coast some 50 miles west of Hongkong—has lapsed into a sleepy existence during which the inhabitants make only a fair living from the reduced gambling trade and a certain amount of smuggling to and from China.

While Macao is not the glittering place of old, it still is a pretty hot spot for Chinese and foreigners who wish to try their luck at various types of gambling and to smoke opium quietly in their hotel rooms or in back alley establishments.

Tourist Trade Slumps

The slack business at most of the city's gambling establishments is explained by the fact that there are not too many travelers visiting the colony these days. Only two or three small coasters make the round trip from Hongkong each day. The larger, better-appointed boats that used to be on the run have been shifted to the Hongkong-Canton route, which is more traveled.

However, to a visitor from areas where gambling, if done at all, is confined to private homes and clubs and little hideaways in dark parts of town, Macao's many large gambling palaces—even if a bit in need of painting and refurbishing—are quite impressive. The center of the city's gambling industry is located in the Central Hotel, an 11 story building in the middle of town. Three entire floors are devoted to various types of gambling, while there are numerous small rooms stuck about here and there which cater to some particular gambling speciality. The two main games played here—and, for that matter, throughout the city—are Fantan and a variation of the old American carnival game known as Bird Cage.

In the Central Hotel, most of the Fantan tables have holes cut in the ceilings above them so that additional players can sit around a railing above and participate in the game. Today, the tables themselves are usually not filled, while the seats on the floors above are generally unoccupied. One large house, devoted exclusively to Fantan, had holes cut through both the second and third floors, so patrons perched in the attic could still participate in the game on the ground floor. In this place most of the seats around the table itself were filled, a few places on the second floor were occupied, while the railing and counter on the third floor aperture were covered with dust and cobwebs.

While the tables devoted to playing the Macao variety of Bird Cage in the Central Hotel did not have openings cut into the floors of the rooms above them, the main table had a signal system attached whereby an operator, by pushing a bunch of buttons, flashed the results onto glass screens located in some of the tea rooms and bars throughout the hotel. Thus patrons taking time off to eat or drink could still follow the play.

Opium On Way Out?

Regulations restricting opium smoking began to be applied about a year ago. Official reason is that it is now the Portuguese Government's policy to stamp out the use of opium, although some observers view the restrictions as a political move designed to lessen the moral aspects of the Chinese Government's claim for the retrocession of the colony to China. In any event opium is no longer smoked openly in large, well-appointed establishments. One no longer can walk along the streets and observe shop owners smoking in their doorways or behind the counters.

However, this does not mean that there is no opium to be had. One can hardly walk a block along any downtown street without smelling opium smoke. In some of the more dingy areas of the city its odor is noticeable constantly, while if one makes discreet inquiries places where visitors may smoke can easily be found. Most such places, though, are located in back streets and are reached through a maze of alleys and dirty lanes.

Smuggling Booming

Macao's main source of revenue these days is said to be smuggling which almost daily becomes more profitable. The increase in the smuggling trade grows almost directly in proportion with the addition of new import and export restrictions in China. All kinds of banned items, both in the luxury and necessity classes, cross into China from Macao, while metals such as wolfram and other Chinese exports with a sale value abroad are shipped out.

Most important recent item added to the illicit trade is Philippine gold, which is smuggled out of the Philippines and sent to Macao where wealthy Chinese, desirous of finding a stable and easily convertible item which they can use as an inflation hedge, are avid purchasers. After its purchase, some is slipped across the border into China, while some is smuggled to Hongkong.

Future Far From Bright

With its vice trade more or less in the doldrums, Macao—which has no industry and normally only scant importance as a trading center—can maintain only a minimum state of prosperity as long as conditions in China are such that smuggling continues a profitable business.

From the long range point of view, there can be little future for the concession. It is far surpassed, both from location and as a suitable ship anchorage, by Hongkong. If the Portuguese are able to retain control of the area, it may continue indefinitely as a down at the heels, but picturesque little peninsula where the authorities half-heartedly suppress vices such as gambling and opium smoking, which will always draw a few devotees from China and occasional tourists who are passing through the Far East.

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Miasma Over Washington

EDWARD ROHRBOUGH

Washington, August 22.

BROOKS Atkinson once began one of his more significant China dispatches with a lead about the "miasma of Chungking." Now, three years later, Atkinson has moved to New York where he writes of drama, and the miasma has moved to Washington to become a source of constant frustration to those who thought that after V-J Day Fascism would disappear automatically, imperialist nations would intelligently offer freedom to the peoples they exploit, capital would intelligently understand labor's problems and generously offer to cut profits in order to raise wages, and everything would be just too, too lovely.

For such starry-eyed hopefuls, the Washington of today is pretty discouraging. The 80th Congress which recently adjourned, the first Republican Congress since 1932, seems to have done all it could toward setting the clock back to the time when its predecessors of 15 years ago were swept out of office by the first wave of the New Deal. A few of its spokesmen have apologized publicly because they hadn't "corrected all the mistakes" of the Roosevelt administrations, but promised more action for the future. Believers in the Roosevelt policies as expressed in the Wagner Act, the Four Freedoms, and the material issued in bales by the late Office of War Information, can have little hope that such action will do anything to alleviate the post-war problems of the United States or the world.

80th On The Job

When it got around to dealing with the international scene, the 80th Congress implemented the Truman Doctrine of supplying various rightist governments with money and arms to "stop the spread of Communism." On the labor-management front, the 80th gave management such sweeping powers with the Taft-Hartley Bill that owners negotiating contracts with the unions have generally preferred to ignore the new law because they feel application of such powers will increase, rather than decrease industrial unrest. In the interests of those who make $25,000 a year or more, the 80th tried vigorously to pass the "Rich Man's Tax Bill" which would have given a certain amount of aid and comfort to those with astronomical incomes. It lost this battle to President Truman by a hair. In the interests of "Free Enterprise" the 80th removed such remaining price controls as President Truman hadn't done away with already.

Energetic as it was about soothing the jangled nerves of Wall Street, the 80th was vocal rather than vigorous when it came to measures desired by the workers, or by underprivileged American minorities. Low cost housing for vets was just something to talk about. So was any effective Federal anti-lynch measure. Efforts at legislation following the findings of the Fair Employment Practices Committee, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored Peoples, or the National Negro Congress were labelled "communistic," and the Negro people in the United States were faced with the fact that they were going to have to fight to retain the social and economic gains they won during the war.

Mending Political Fences

Now the Congressmen have largely abandoned Capitol Hill to the sweltering heat, their secretaries, and the miasma. Many are organized into flying squads of the various investigating committees which will, according to one Washington correspondent, "darken the face of Europe, and I do mean darken." Others have gone home to build their political fences.

The Party Lines of these Indian Summer travellers are not too difficult to predict. The Republicans will address themselves chiefly to monopoly capital, to management of all kinds, and to such farm elements as those which have resented the progress of organized labor because they didn't understand it. The Republicans can hardly expect to make much progress among veterans, organized labor, or any of the organized minority groups, so their line will be simple enough. They will merely repeat what their spokesmen have already said—that they will attempt to undo more of the New Deal achievements and that they will try further to cut governmental expenses, while assisting all programs that are aimed at "stopping Communism," wherever it appears in the world. Since such programs are always expensive, the Republicans will have to decide for themselves sooner or later whether they'd rather stop Communism or save money, but they won't trot any such puzzles out for their constituents.

One Republican made an illuminating remark when he sighed recently, "Since the loan to Greece, everybody's been discovering Communists. I don't know what we can do."

Democrats Also Busy

The Democrats have a wider range of subjects and constituents. They can tell manufacturers how Truman stopped the coal strike and how he vetoed the Taft-Hartley Bill because it would create labor trouble, at the same time asking for a workable bill. They can tell labor that the same veto reflected a sincere interest in labor. They can tell labor, too, of Truman's veto of the tax measure. For those who fear the USSR, they can point to Truman's program in Greece, in China, in Italy and France, and to the Marshall Plan which seems a smoother way of accomplishing the objectives President Truman stated quite bluntly in his message on Greece in March. For those same constituents and for such of the National Association of Manufacturers as might be willing to listen to any Democrat's proposal, the administration's bushbeaters can point to the President's $11,000,000 "loyalty check" of Federal employees, and the prosecution of Gerhart Eisler, Eugene Dennis, and others for alleged contempt of the Un-American Activities Committee.

Perhaps a political weakness of the Democrats is that they can promise too much to too many and therefore sound more like Boss Prendergast than like FDR. Senator Claude Pepper of Florida, who has thus far been more consistent than most Democrats in his position, told a press conference last week that he didn't agree with the Administration's foreign policy, or with the 80th's attitude toward domestic issues, and he said he saw a relationship between the two.

"What the world needs," he said, "is more democracy, and you can't encourage more democracy abroad unless you have it at home. Now we are pointing toward less democracy in this country, not more."

"Who would you say is the villain in this?" asked a newsman.

"The villain is Congress," answered the Senator.

One of Senator Pepper's points of difference with the Administration's foreign policy is the rebuilding of Germany's industries. Pepper believes the industries should have been removed to France, in accord with the Potsdam Agreement, and supplied with coal from the Ruhr.

And Rebuild Germany

"We cannot ride the German horse," said the Senator. "We should have found that out by now."

When I mentioned Pepper's point to a Republican Congressman, he remarked, "But I worry about the German people. How can they maintain themselves without their industries."

Since he is a Congressman I know fairly well, I took the liberty to ask, "Let's see how much you sincerely worry about the German people? With the Chinese people being subjected to famine and Civil War, you don't worry about them. You worry about Communism."

"The Chinese people are used to starvation and Civil War," answered the Congressman contentedly.

And I pondered over the obvious reflection that the only people who ever really get used to not eating are the dead.

New Economic Regulations Half-Turn?

S. E. SHIFRIN

(Special Correspondent, The China Weekly Review)

Tientsin (By Airmail).

REGULATIONS and restrictions are popular these days, but the chorus of delight in the Nanking press which greeted the new regulations of August 17th was something special. The lack of success of economic measures in the past didn't bother the press of the capital, which seemed to expect great things from the new measures. For the past few months people in this country had a chance to read many a piece of emergency economic ruling, and to many it is clear that it is not only the soundness of the rules and regulations, but their effective implementation that is important. The pattern followed by economic regulations in China up to now is a sequence of publication and scrapping.

As a shot in the arm to a group of exporters suffering for several months from a variety of pernicious economic anemia, as a new life-jacket thrown to exporters who for some time past have taken chances on the fluctuations of the exchange rate, the new regulations look effective. For the rest they don't look so good.

Up to the time of writing the most obvious reason for their issue was to encourage the export trade and overseas remittances. The one-sided balance of payments abetted by the low official exchange rate was becoming too much of a headache. Even in North China, the appalling decrease in value of exports was clearly evident. According to figures released by the Tientsin Commodity Testing Bureau exports from Tientsin during last July amounted to only CNC$15,600,000,000 the all-time low for 1947.

Less Enthusiasm

The day after the announcement of the new measrues there were probably many hopefuls in China but now the enthusiasm has had time to cool off. The open market rate as first announced was taken to mean the removal of all exchange restrictions and a spokesman of the Central Bank has been quoted as saying that China had revised her foreign exchange policy and would recognize the open market rate. But the "open market" rate as understood by the spokesman was the rate established by the Central Bank. All restrictions on foreign exchange and gold transactions still stand.

Announcement of the new official rate of exchange euphemistically christened "open market" rate, was followed by the usual reaction of the market. If dealers don't read newspapers somebody must have told them all about it. Quotations for export commodities which for the past weeks have been climbing to keep up with the "black market" rate have soared again, making it impossible to ship cargo abroad. Advices received seem to show that quotations for export commodities in the U.S.A. have at best registered no increases.

Black marketeers in gold and foreign exchange have not been intimidated out of business by the penalties provided under the February Emergency regulations. It is only natural to expect that they will continue their operations. Already since the announcement of the new measures the gap between the "open market" quotations and the rate quoted in the black market is believed to have widened. As long as two rates exist for foreign exchange, and the gap between them remains, the volume of overseas remittances through Chinese banks will hardly increase. Things will remain as they are unless the official "open market" rate is the more attractive of the two, or unless the agreement with the Government of Hongkong is so foolproof that overseas remittances through that channel can be effectively blocked.

Support Hinted

The functions of the newly established Foreign Exchange Stabilization Fund Committee have not been sharply defined. Its overall policy may include interference in the "black market", but this, it is believed, had already been undertaken in the past by the Central Bank. Phonetically the name of the Committee bears a close resemblance to the Stabilization Board set up shortly after beginning of the war. Then the Board had at its disposal funds made available through loans by foreign countries. Now Britain is in no shape to extend financial assistance, but has the U.S.A. perhaps hinted at support, once such a Committee had been established or are the funds at its disposal to be limited to Central Bank reserves?

Fundamentally nothing has been changed by the new regulations, except the rate of exchange, and the creation of a body which may have been empowered to make quick decisions. Whether it has been given wide latitude to take decisive steps or whether it will be tied securely to the apronstrings of some other institution and its recommendations shelved, time will show. Stocks of export goods are reported to be very low in the north, and transportation difficulties still hamper trade developments. The fighting continues and the printers are still working hard. As for imports, the new exchange rate even without the retention of the old licensing system, is at the moment effectively discouraging any commercial imports.

Are the new regulations a half-turn to the road of a further loosening of controls or only a temporary measure preceding a further tightening of the screws? Central Trust, reportedly, had been ordered to suspend its purchases in view of the favorable effects the new ruling was expected to have on the private export trade. The way things are, it looks like the Trust might soon have to be in business again.

Speaking at the final plenary meeting of the International Trade Conference Preparatory Committee at Geneva, Mr. Harold Wilson, British Secretary for Overseas Trade, said that the overriding problem today was one of restoring the balance of payments. The solution of this problem, he added, necessitated temporary measures which might "appear to be opposed to the principles and methods of the draft Charter." Britain, for instance, would find it necessary to have even closed economic cooperation with other countries of the Commonwealth. The important point was not to establish permanently artificial channels of trade which would, in the long run, defeat the principles and measures discussed at Geneva and lower the standard of living of the world.

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Future Of Kuomintang May Be Bright

C. Y. W. MENG

RECENTLY, we understand, strenuous discussions have been going on within the Kuomintang and the San Min Chu I Youth Corps as to their eventual amalgamation. According to one report, President Chiang Kai-shek will soon issue a 4,000-word statement urging all members to give full support to the suppression of the "Communist bandits."

We are of the opinion that whether the two should again be amalgamated is entirely immaterial, a question not deserving of strenuous discussion. The most pressing problem is *how* to effect a thorough reform of the Kuomintang. And *what* should President Chiang do to save the Kuomintang from a crisis, and ensure it a bright future? That is the most important question which should be vigorously discussed.

History Of Kuomintang

There is no doubt that the Kuomintang is the oldest political party in China, having a history of more than 50 years and a glorious past. It was the Kuomintang which overthrew the Manchu Dynasty, after repeated failures, and founded the Republic. The inauguration of a constitutional form of government, bringing to an end the monarchial system which had existed for more than 5,000 years in China, constitutes a marvel of the 20th century.

Started as Hsing Chung Hui, or "China Revival Society," in 1894, the Party has changed its name many times. From Hsing Chung Hui, it became Tung Meng Hui, or "Alliance League," then the Kuomintang, and the Chinese Revolutionary Party. The last name was given to it by its late leader, Dr. Sun Yat-sen, in 1914, when he marshaled under him all the revolutionary elements in the country. In 1919, however, Dr. Sun reverted to the name of the Kuomintang.

Similarly, the platform of the Kuomintang underwent several revisions during the lifetime of Dr. Sun, but throughout it has embraced the ultimate objective of the application of the Three People's Principles—the Principle of Nationalism, the Principle of Democracy and the Principle of the People's Livelihood. The Kuomintang is now China's largest and ruling party.

Target Of Attack—Why?

But today the Kuomintang is a constant target of attack by the people. Even Lieut.-General A. C. Wedemeyer, who has the reputation of being a staunch friend of the Kuomintang, in his farewell statement, was most critical of the Party. Why?

This "why" should give a great deal of food for reflection to all members of the Kuomintang. Every loyal member of the Party should search for an answer.

We don't have to scold the General for his bold and critical parting message. We don't have to "lecture" the American press party for the many "hot stories" they have sent out. We had better blame ourselves. "To scold oneself rather than other people" (責人不如責己) is one of the great teachings handed down to us by the sages of ancient times, and this teaching should be fully applied here.

It may be reiterated that the late President Roosevelt, at the Cairo Conference, registered his complaint about the character of our Government as being "hardly a modern democracy" (See Elliott Roosevelt, *As He Saw It*, p. 164.), and suggested that we form a unity government. President Truman, in his statement of December 15, 1945, suggested the broadening of the basis of our Government. General George C. Marshall, in his statement, suggested that "the salvation of the situation, as I see it, would be the assumption of leadership by the liberals in the Government." Now, Lieut.-General Wedemeyer suggests "drastic and far reaching political and economic reforms."

We believe these comments are sufficient to indicate *where* we should go. We don't need any more fact-finding missions to China. What is now left is the part to be performed by the Chinese themselves.

China must reform. We quite agree with General Wedemeyer that our reforms must be "drastic and far-reaching." But what we would like to add here is that our "drastic and far-reaching reforms" should cover not only the political and economic, but also the social and military spheres.

China must change. The choice before us: To adopt the new, or to die with the old.

Three Greatest Defects

In a spirit of self-criticism and frankness, we intend to discuss more of the Kuomintang's affairs by pointing out not only its contributions to the nation in the past, but also its defects, and by expressing not only what we hope of its members, but also its Chung Tsai, or Director General of the Kuomintang (President Chiang Kai-shek). We do so with no intention of joining the General in being critical of the Kuomintang, but rather with a *bona fide* goodwill to pull the Kuomintang "out of the fire," if we can.

After years of observation, we can point out the three greatest defects of the Kuomintang. First, the Kuomintang lags too far behind the times. Both in its behavior and thought, the Kuomintang has shown unmistakably that it is the "G.O.P." (Grand Old Party) of China, and that it has not yet transformed itself into a party of the 20th century. Admit that!

Secondly, during these 20 years in power, the Kuomintang has done nothing worth speaking of for the Common Man in China. It has never attempted to mingle with the Common Man, but on the contrary, has always drifted away from him. As a result, the Kuomintang is now entirely out of touch with the realities of the situation in this country and the sufferings as well as the aspirations of the teeming millions. Admit that!

Thirdly, during these years in power, the Kuomintang has failed—failed most miserably—to carry out any portion of Dr. Sun Yat-sen's Three People's Principles. Everything remains in name and in form only, and nothing real has been done. Admit that!

Stable Society

Chen Li-fu, the leader of the notorious "C.C. Clique" within the Kuomintang, for example, still insists that "since billions of Chinese people have carried on the world's most stable society on Confucian principles, these principles must be reapplied, not abandoned." (See *Time*, May 26, 1947). But as pointed out in a *Review* editorial, "Time does not seem to be aware that this 'stability' has made the Chinese a nation of paupers, exceeded only in their poverty by the people of India."

Today, we hold rather elaborate celebrations on Confucius' Birthday in Confucian temples in every city, something unseen before. We don't oppose the honoring of our Great Sage. What we do oppose is the malicious motive behind which the Kuomintang intends return to the old and to "freeze" the thought of the people by reinvoking old teachings.

In fact, as a revolutionary party in modern time, the Kuomintang should possess a progressive spirit to look forward, but never backward. It should have the courage and ability to take the initiative to welcome and meet the march of time, but not against it. China certainly needs progress. Consequently, China needs a progressive party to lead her. A conservative party will not work at this time.

The various branches in the Government, from the executive to the legislative, the judicial, the examination and the control, are all under control of one party. While this might be done under the name of

the so-called "Political Tutelage," at least attempts should have been made to train the people to love and appreciate democracy, and to bring about some form of popular organs in the meantime to enable the people to exercise supervision over the Government. The Principle of Democracy, one of the Three People's Principles, has been completely relegated to the background after the Party's ascendency to power.

3 Principles Forgotten

The Principle of the People's Livelihood calls for the control of the movement of capital, and equalization in the ownership of land. But nothing of this sort has ever been realized. Rather, just the opposite has taken place. During recent years, instead of the promotion of "People's Capitalism," the nation has been witnessing the rapid development of "Bureaucratic Capitalism." The irregularities with which both the Yangtze Development Corporation and the Fu Chung Corporation —all owned and operated by members of the Kuomintang—have been handling their import business are too well known to all to need any reiteration by us here. As to the ownership of land, it is more concentrated than before the war.

According to one report published in *Wen Wei Pao*, a liberal paper in Shanghai, now suspended, General Ho Yin-ching who is also a member of the Kuomintang, heads the list in the payment of taxes on the real estate he owns in Shanghai, surpassing even Shanghai's No. 1 rich man, Tu Yueh-sen, who is second on the list. But although this general is so rich, he is never generous enough to auction some of his houses for the benefit of the poor, the sick, the refugees, the crippled, the aged, and the weak who are visible everywhere in this cosmopolitan city. All these poor and unfortunates are left uncared for by the state.

If assets owned by the rich officials in China are not utilized, why should we talk so much about the utilization of the Chinese owned assets in America? If the rich members of the Kuomintang do not take the lead in making monetary contributions to the nation, who else will?

We believe these are some of the greatest defects which have made the Kuomintang so unpopular today. Some members of the Party may refuse to admit them, but the truth is that the Party has paid heavily for the "stupid pertinacity" of a few members. To us, these defects must be corrected at the earliest possible date.

Remedies Listed

The first step in this direction is the *thorough reform* of the Kuomintang. The present poor discipline and lack of spirit to serve the Common Man; greed for fame and gain, not only for themselves, but also for their sons, brothers and nephews must be at once corrected.

Secondly, if the Kuomintang really intends to lead the Chinese people in the democratic movement, *it must first of all practise democracy within itself.*

Thirdly, the Kuomintang must take far more vigorous steps to regenerate itself. It is true that the Kuomintang has a greater leader—President Chiang Kai-shek—than any political party can expect to have. *But its very dependence on the leader is the core of its weakness.* The emphasis on loyalty to the leader and on formal uniformity of opinion to a very great extent, have stymied the healthy growth of the Party as a whole. Such practice should be done away with, while the *promotion of the art of leadership and the opportunity to develop initiative and creative spirit should be greatly encouraged.*

KMT's "Old Guards"

It is now widely known that Kuomintang affairs are under the monopoly of a handful of "Old Guards." Being so used to leadership through blind obedience and the distribution of favors, so unopposed in their party control, so blind to the aspirations of the younger generation, these "Old Guards" rarely tolerate the appearance of anything like the "Ginger Group" of the British Conservative Party, or the "Rebels" of the British Labor Party, or the Henry Wallace of the American Democratic Party. Loyalty becomes blind obedience. But formal uniformity of opinion often deteriorates into subservient disunity in action.

Many competent observers concur that the prospect of a revival of the Kuomintang rests upon the building up of a new leadership, and the growth of free and healthy opinion within the party. Unless efforts are made to remove the working leadership of the party from the hands of these "Old Guards," the possibility of a revival of the Kuomintang is very faint indeed.

Therefore, both for the revival of the Kuomintang, as well as for the benefit of the nation, we suggest President Chiang Kai-shek, as Chung Tsai of the Kuomintang, take some strong and high-handed action to rid of the Party of these "Old Guards," while putting the notorious "reactionaries" under control. The President can do so not necessarily by a bloody purge, but by sending them to the United States and letting them observe with their own eyes the operation of democracy there. In America, although Henry Wallace is a strong opponent of the Truman Doctrine, yet he is still given all facilities to travel and to speak to the people. But in China, we have many Henry Wallaces, but *no* Truman!

We may add here that the nation is very willing to finance their trip to the States even at the depletion of China's small reserve of foreign exchange. Their departure will open the way far wider to the settlement of many political problems facing the nation today.

Of these "Old Guards" and reactionaries, there is no doubt that the C.C. Clique men head the list. Nathaniel Peffer in his "Time to Get Out of China," characterized the C. C. Clique "as vicious a machine as ever existed in any American city in the unregenerate days, vicious in its corruption and its repressive terror." (See *Harper's Magazine*, July, 1947.) This renowned writer further concluded that "Chiang could break the brothers in twenty-four hours if he *wanted to*."

To us, as the situation in the country is rather critical, the question is no longer "wanted to," but a "must."

"Inspirational Leadership"

There is no doubt that the eyes of the entire world are now focussed on what President Chiang will do after the Wedemeyer Mission to China. To us, the President will be free of any dilemma if he deals with the situation realistically and exhibits far-sighted judgment. We venture to suggest a few points for the purpose of academic discussion:

(1) Make up your mind that China must behave as a Great Power, not only in name but in fact. Be fully determined that China is *not* Greece, The Second—a country, occupying such a strategic position, but torn by Civil War, begging for foreign aid but caring nothing for reform itself. Assume the role of a champion of the weak and the subject and colonial peoples not only in Asia but in the various parts of the world.

However, in the case of the revolt of Indo-China against French colonial rule, China has not given the independence movement any substantial aid or moral assistance, though by the order of the Supreme Allied Command, Indo-China was assigned to be within the China war area. We should reach some understanding with the French Government regarding the independent movement before the withdrawal of our troops. In our opinion, China has the moral responsibility to assist this people to regain its independence.

China Silent

During the present Dutch-Indonesian war, while Nehru proposed an "Asiatic Monroe Doctrine," China has remained conspicuously silent. But our silence has cost us heavily. It now looks as if the role of Asiatic leadership, which should be China's, has virtually passed from Chiang Kai-shek to Nehru. The present policy of the National Government of devoting full attention to the suppression of the "Communist bandits," while paying no attention to the trend of events in the world, and adopting such an inactive foreign policy, is indeed most ill-advised, and is sure to be greatly deplored by many historians in the future.

(2) Be courageous enough to drop some of these "Old Guards" from the Kuomintang, remove "generals" from civil posts, and eject all the incompetent and corrupt officials and punish them heavily. Staff the whole administration with more "Men Who Believe in Their Century." "Men Who Serve Their Nation And The Times," and with as many social workers, scientists, economists and technical experts as possible. Wipe out corruption and nepotism.

(3) Don't always turn to the Kuomintang's C.E.C. (Central Ex-

ecutive Committee) or C.P.C. (Central Political Council) for decisions. But listen more often to the voice of the Common Man in the country, encourage the people's organs, render them living and truly representative organs of the people, and turn to them for final decisions on national affairs. Be always responsive and receptive to public criticism, and most sensitive and amenable to public sentiment. Be progressive in outlook, and liberal in thought. Prize and nourish the growth of public opinion in the country.

(4) Put yourself *above* the Kuomintang, and assume the role of a "Super-Party Leader" in the country. If the reorganization of the National Government, the termination of the present Political Tutelage, and the formation of a coalition government are the wishes of the people, accept them openly, and do it without any delay, disregarding opposition from any clique whatsoever.

(5) Never be tempted into supporting reactionary cliques simply because they scream loudest against the Communists. On the other hand, be fully aware that the vigorous progressives and liberals in the country who are the apostles of the democratic movement deserve a great deal more backing than before.

(6) Remember one great dictum. *A semi-feudal and corrupt regime only invites Communism, while a progressive regime with a representative government repels Communism.* This dictum is applicable to many countries in this postwar period, including China. One of the greatest troubles with the Kuomintang is that it knows only how to suppress Communism by force, but never realizes the importance of finding out the alternative to Communism and this alternative is progressive democracy.

(7) Take full cognizance of the fact that the time for the application of old capitalism has definitely gone, and it is now the time for the promotion of the "People's Capitalism." The heavy concentration of economic power and wealth in the hands of a few should no longer be tolerated.

We have no objections to the development of capitalism in China, on the contrary, we prefer to make every man a capitalist. The "People's Capitalism" is diametrically opposed to "Bureaucratic Capitalism" in that it aims not at the prosperity of the state or the prosperity of a few business units, but at the prosperity of the people.

(8) Lastly, one conversation between the late President Roosevelt and a reporter is worth citing here. The reporter asked the President:

"Mr. President, are you a Communist?"

"No."

"Are you a capitalist?"

"No."

"Are you a socialist?"

"No," the President said.

The young man asked: "Well, what is your philosophy, then?"

"Philosophy?" asked the President, puzzled. "I am a Christian and a Democrat—That is all." (See "The Roosevelt I Knew" by Frances Perkins in *Collier's*, September 7, 1946.)

We should say that a leader in this tumultuous and divided world must adopt the same attitude. He knows nothing of "isms," and refuses most stubbornly to be any "ist," but bends himself to work for the welfare of the people in his country, and assumes the role of a greater experimenter, entertaining a wider world outlook.

We believe the foregoing may explain partly Wedemeyer's advice for "Inspirational Leadership" which China needs most today. We are convinced that if these steps are taken wholeheartedly, China will be saved and the Kuomintang will have a bright future.

Education Conference Faces Huge Problems

Ronald Yu Soong Ch'eng (陳友松)
Ph. D. Columbia
(Professor of Education, National Peking University)

Peiping, August 24,

AN unprecedented movement for the intellectual enlightening of the dark areas of the world has started in China by the opening of the UNESCO Far Eastern Regional Study Conference on Fundamental Education on September 3, in Nanking, exactly six days after the birthday of Confucius, our first and greatest democratic educator. At least 14 nations are represented. We welcome them for bringing us the gifts of light.

As a new China is right now in the extreme throes of being born, to borrow an expression from Charles Dickens, certainly for China, "it is the darkest of times; it is the brightest of times.", brightest because the highest ideals of mankind as represented by UNESCO are striking the earth with a shaft of light first in China and then they are meant to spread to all parts of the globe. Minimum fundamental education is the first step, the Far East is the first battle zone, and China is being honored by being made the educational Normandy. we also express our sincere gratitude for those "Tall Men" at the helm of UNESCO who have so expertly planned the movement of such magnitude for more than one year.

In this meeting of minds let's be candid rather than candied. We have overcome the barriers of nature which once separated us for centuries. We must now tear down the barriers of mind. It is necessary to stand on common ground before we can educate for the "common ground of all peoples". In this age of synthesis we can do it through our highest reason which is essentially the same. This was aptly shown by Loh Shiang-shan, our philosopher in the 12th century: "The sages from the Eastern sea have the same mind and reason as the sages from the Western sea; the sages of centuries ago had the same mind and reason as the sages of centuries to come."

By posing as an elder brother to our Asiatic neighbors we have nothing to be proud of because of our mere bulk and quantity. Otherwise we all have to give way to the race of dinosaurs more than 50,000,000 years ago. Cathay is not so fogy-ish as you may think. She is merely one of the oldest of the youngest. What is old may be still new. Is not the sun one of the oldest things over our planet? Yet it is everyday full of new meanings even baffling Mount Wilson. The Confucian Book of Odes has this to say: "Chow may be an old country, but its living message is brand new." We were early taught "to make illustrious the illustrious virtues to all the world under heaven." We do have some valuable experience to share with all.

Age Of Education

Our experience makes us firmly believe that the atomic age should be the education age. One world or none. Civilization or catastrophe. Mankind has no third choice. "Education has now become the chief problem of the world, its only holy cause," said Stanley Hall. Why? H. G. Wells replied; "We can not build a new civilization with 2,000,000,000,000 pot-bound minds." Chinese thinking is overwhelmingly for the idea that the defenses of peace should be first constructed in the minds of men and built upon the intellectual and moral solidarity of mankind. To the Chinese, spirit is primary but the materialistic aspect of life is not neglected. In fact the materialistic aspect has been attended to in the wrong direction as Dr. Hu Shih showed in the first chapter

on Chinese civilization in "Whither Mankind?" Chinese teaching views the human person as a whole and life, too, in its entirety. Life is the center of the universe and Min-sen (a political term for life) is the center of historical evolution, unifying spirit and matter as well as space and time. Marx or Freud at UNESCO, the issue between Ribnikar of Yugoslavia and George Marshall of U.S.A., is an overriding issue in the world today.

Chinese mentality believes that we can avoid this eternal ideological tug-of-war by a higher synthesis assimilating the best and discarding the worst of each in life as a metaphysical principle or in the reality plane and whether in phenotype or in genotype. "The great virtue or property of the cosmos is life," says the Book of Changes. The great virtue of minkind is Jen (仁). The character Jen signifies two persons, a socio-nucleus living together cooperatively. It also means the kernel of things similar to the hydrogen atom. Jen, like energy in modern physics, is the all pervading principle, the very basis of Confucian humanism, a sure foundation upon which to build Mr. Huxley's scientific world humanism. Jen is our concept for the democratic way of life not only between individual persons, but also between different peoples. We believe in the way of moral domination (wang tao) but not the way of force (pa tao). For centuries we were taught to "restore perished nations and joint list lineages". The Great Wall should be the symbol of non-aggression rather than physical and intellectual isolation. Our supreme ideals of education in the words of our sages are "to pacify all the world under heaven", to "create ideal peace (tai ping) for millennium," or to realize "cooperative harmony among the ten thousand nations." The Confucian saying, "Educate without kind" is our conception of equality of opportunity.

No Need For Fear

This briefly may be the cause that Chinese civilization is still going, though not strong, as one of the only five civilizations that exist today after 14 others had perished in the evolutionary process. Mr. Walter Lippman is a little too nervous about what a great and powerful China would do. There is no cause for worry here as shown by Mr. A. J. Toynbee in his article Civilization on Trial, which appears in the June issue of the *Atlantic Monthly*. Only with such an outlook on life and the world can modern science be trusted. The great problem of China today is not only to develop the best of what is old, but also to learn the best of what is new, especially the science and technics of civilization and to play her due role in the age of balance as advanced by Louis Munford.

But why fundamental education first? Here is Mr. Huxley's answer: "The movement frankly faces the existence of immense numbers of peoples who lack the most elementary means for participating in the life of the modern world. This is not only a threat to peace and security, none the less real because indirect, but it is also a barrier and a challenge to science and culture." So fundamental education is a pre-requisite of science and culture. It is only a first step because it is the education of the people, by the people, and for the people, both children and adults, to acquire the minimum basic elements in knowledge, habits, attitudes and appreciations for economic improvement, healthy living, civic participation, artistic and cultural expression and international understanding.

This conference is a study conference. Its set purposes are for collecting pertinent data, discussing experiences and problems, reporting on each other's work, devising pilot projects, developing techniques of regional conference, popularing the ideals of UNESCO and its interest in the Far East and the South Pacific and making known the importance of fundamental education and the need for greater effort. It makes investigation or research, exploration and experiment the sine qua non of forecasting and planning. It demands the pooling of intelligence and the widest possible cooperation. It will utilize all the best contributions of the scientific movement in education and summon the services of the largest body of professional talents. Such a scientific, democratic and expert approach will assure its success.

Ministry Prepares

For a little more than two months the Ministry of Education through a preparatory conference of educators has made some preparations for this unusual event. Under great difficulties, many of which are beyond the control of the teaching profession, our preparation in a modest way may disappoint our distinguished visitors. The pioneer role China has played in popular education under the leadership of Mr. James Yen, the late Mr. Tao Hsientse and scores of others all over the country, has only been partly known to the world. But the war has dealt serious blows to our work and many experiments or new enterprises which were either wiped out or suspended are now barely getting started again. However our war government made great efforts to extend universal elementary education and liquidate illiteracy.

The pre-war peak enrollment was 18,364,956 in 1939, representing only 27 percent of the children aged 6-12. During the first few years of the war, about one half of the school children were deprived of schooling due to enemy vandalism. The loss of elementary school property amounted to CNC$96,489,838 which was 43.5 percent of the total pre-war value of elementary school property. Despite all odds repeated efforts brought the enrollment up to the 1946 peak of 23,743,350. The estimated enrollment this year is 25,000,000 which means that only 37.5 percent of the children aged 6-12 are now actually in school.

Thus, after 15 years of effort, we are still facing the problem of providing the barest minimum of four years of schooling for 42,000,000 more children. The present government campaign against illiteracy started no later than 1928. Each year between 1928-1935 only from 1,000,000 to 1,500,000 adult illiterates were taught. Between 1936-1939, 3,000,000 to 5,000,000 were taught each year. Greater progress was made between 1940-1946 when 7,000,000 to 10,000,000 were taught each year. But there is no guarantee that the millions who were taught three or more years ago have not relapsed into illiteracy.

Illiteracy Great

According to an official estimate we still have about 150,000,000 illiterates among the population between the ages 12 and 15. We welcome our visitors to see things as they are: both the best, if any, as well as the worst. With neither concealment nor make believe propaganda we lay open all our difficulties and problems. Our primary aim is to seek constructive criticisms and expert advice. It is very true that the teachers in China have been unknown heroes under all manner of hardships during the long years of destruction and inflation. But we are proud of the fact that 10 years or more ago we were the first to fight the war against the enemies of democracy. We agree with the Mexican government memorandum that ignorance is not an isolated social fact but one aspect of a condition of general backwardness. With long years of external aggression and exploitation followed by 10 years of modern warfare, a country like China, in a low stage of industrialization, can hardly be expected to have greater educational progress than what has been achieved.

Doane estimated our prewar national wealth to be US$84,000,000,000 but our estimated war losses amounted to US$31,000,000,000 including the educational and cultural losses of US$966,000,000. While the present war against the Communists consumes more than 80 percent of the national budget and all local governments are in dire financial straits, our fundamental educational program suffers most acutely at present and in some places is facing a general breakdown.

We need not conceal these facts because in a nutshell this is the heart of our problem. "Poverty we think it no disgrace to acknowledge, but a real disgrace to make no effort to overcome", said the great Pericles. The same can be said about ignorance. We leave our visitors to judge our effort so far.

Sizable Task

To start the movement in Asia has an added significance. The latest estimate of the world's population is 2,170,000,000 while Asia excluding the U.S.S.R. has 1,154,000,000 or 53 percent of the world total and China and India together have about 40 percent of the world total. The size of the task for fundamental education in Asia is clear. Asia is the chief problem area or dark zone of world education. Only 14.6 percent

of Asia's school population aged 6-24 are in school and of those in school no more than 12 percent can get to the secondary school. Of Asia's children, 6-13, 218,677,000, not including Arabia, Bhutan, Nepal, and other very small countries, only 50,979,800 are in school or 23.31 percent., while the world as a whole has a comparable 46.5 percent in school.

Out of the whole world's 168,000,000 children aged 6-13 not in school, 205,000,000 or 82 percent live in Asia. With regard to illiteracy if the world average is about 50 percent, then about 40 percent of the world's illiterates live in China and India. According to Mr. Sardesai, India had only 47,000,000 literates in 1941, and another source gives 127,000,000 adult illiterates. Certainly more than 75 percent of the world's illiterates live in Asia. To solve the problem of Asia means to solve the major problem of the world. Moreover, Asia both in cultural role and geographical position is now the most important single link or bridge in saving the world from being cracked into two parts. Thus UNESCO has exhibited farsighted educational statesmanship by giving priority to Asia.

As planned in advance, this 12-day conference is to lay particular emphasis upon such problems as the use of sense aids and visual media of instruction, the development of simple teaching materials, the training of personnel and the improvement of administrative organization and finance. We are sure that we can reap the most fruitful results concerning these problems from so many experts. The part that China has played and will play I leave to our delegates in their oral and written reports on our experiences and problems. Let the pudding be proved in the eating. But besides the discussion of techniques and methods in our program we should not lose sight of some large issues or important considerations which may affect our success or failure.

Issues Listed

1. We must have and put into concrete and detailed formulations a working philosophy of fundamental education. The working philosophy has been ably and candidly presented by Mr. Huxley for UNESCO and for fundamental education there are excellent general statements in the 1946 Paris Report on Fundamental Education. We need to go some steps further. In its implementation there should be a clear distinction between general aims or purposes, policies or action principles, objectives, goals or outcomes, achievement standards and the like in different reality planes. The working philosophy provides the roots, the general aims form the trunk, policies or operational principles, the branches, and objectives or goals, the leaves, buds, flowers or fruits. Research is needed to translate general aims in concrete terms or specifications that fit in with particular circumstances. For different areas of learning and for different ages, groups or levels of learners there are different objectives. In this way the general philosophy can pervade and penetrate into all directions in all activities and processes. Theory in this way is a most practical thing.

2. Permanent world equalization aid may be essential. That fundamental education aims to remove the inequalities between nations should commit the UNESCO to a new fiscal principle. The wealth of the entire world should educate the people of the entire world and some sort of world aid or equalization fund is needed just as many nations are applying the principle that the wealth of the whole nation should educate the children of the whole nation. In fact both UNESCO and UNRRA are already applying the principle of world aid. Witness UNESCO's initial aid to European schools, setting US$100,000,000 for 1947. The *United Nations World* reported the following aids: 1,000,000 water color paints and brushes, 500,000 drawing books, 3,000,000 colored pencils, 10,000,000 pens, 150,000,000 pencils, 1,000,000 rulers, 2,000,000 geometrical instruments, 70,000,000 exercise books, 10,000 pounds mixed chalk, and 7,000,000 rubbers. It is reasonable that the economically backward nations, particularly those devastated by war should have an equal opportunity to share such aids by some sort of measuring scale. A similar program for the Far East is necessary.

Finance Charter Needed

3. The formulation of a world educational finance charter is necessary. From patient research for more than 30 years, school finance experts have found some definite principles and sound practices in cutting this Gordian knot or attacking this "dark labyrinth" so as to insure the successful operation of a school system. Our program of fundamental education must not be built upon wishful thinking. Ross I. Finney said the right thing: "If you want the schools to reform society, society must first reform its taxes." It is hoped that the study conference will give due attention to the financial aspect of our long term plan. The charter should be stated in general terms for specific adaptations by different countries. Included in the charter may be mentioned the utilization of part of the war reparations for education. It may help China a great deal if the Japanese reparation is given a more just share to China and at least 30 percent of the China share is allocated to fundamental education. A pilot project in educational finance for fundamental education should certainly be included in our program.

4. The raising of the social status of the teacher should be of international concern. The effects of the boss-employee relationship in industry and the commander-private relationship in the military system upon the teaching profession have been unfortunate. The stigma of lowliness, the pinch of low pay, the shackle of limited freedom and the resulting sting of inferiority complex are fatal to good teaching in the modern age. Yet the future of civilization is said to be in his hands. His social status must be raised commensurably with his responsibility and his professional standard. China is particularly interested in this problem because for centuries we have a tradition of "honoring the teacher and revering the tao". We must draft some sort of a bill of rights for the teachers of the world.

5. The demand for trained and experienced specialists in many lines of fundamental education must be met at once in the backward countries where few are available and many can not be trained in a short time through some sort of a system of international exchange.

The Far East needs badly many motion picture education and teaching experts, and specialists in the fields of subject psychology, curriculum construction, measurement, adult psychology, guidance, school survey, school housing, school finance and the like. As the work gets fairly well started in all parts of the world an international supervisory force and system will be in demand. It is suggested that the training of these high grade personnel may be planned in connection with the World University. For the continuous cooperation between the nations in many common problems a permanent Far Eastern Regional organization under UNESCO guidance may be necessary.

6. To facilitate cooperation and comparison in education of the United Nations or the world as a whole there is need for developing standards or unit measures in common denominator, particularly in child accounting and in many phases of the "externa". For instance our conception of illiteracy is still in the pre-scientific era like our currencies. For common understanding we need a universal system of educational terminology very much like that of the metric system. Comparative education has had a hard time in the past. This should not be so from now on.

Moral Force Needed

Finally while we believe with Mr. Meiklejohn that the world educational plan must be closely coordinated with the world polifical and economic plan, we cannot trust too much in the political and economic forces which may sometimes run contrary to our educational ideals. If this may happen, we educational workers of the whole world under the guidance of UNESCO must unite in one body for asserting the moral forces of the world. Only with such moral independence and unswerving conviction can we expect some blossoming and fruition of our work. Here, Mencius, another great democratic educator second only to Confucius may give us some inspiration and encouragement. I quote one passage in full:

"To abide in the vast abode of the world.
To stand up in the right position of the world,
To practice the supreme truth of the world,
When this ideal has its way,
To share freely with all the people,

WHAT TOJO'S CELLMATES ARE THINKING

(Former Ambassador To Rome Toshio Shiratori)

DAVID CONDE

Tokyo.

TOSHIO Shiratori, former Ambassador to Rome, now on trial in Tokyo with Tojo as one of Japan's major war criminals, wants Emperor Hirohito to become a Christian and thus "CHRISTIANIZE JAPAN WHOLESALE AND AT ONE STROKE."

Behind his sneering courtroom mask, Shiratori, one of the principal architects of the Axis Pact, who boasted that Germany and Italy had learned their Fascism from Japan, is revealed as still scheming a masterly diplomatic coup which will save Hirohito and preserve his control on the minds of his subjects.

Hitherto secret, a long letter written by Shiratori five months after the beginning of the Occupation to the recent Prime Minister Shigeru Yoshida, reveals a plan of staggering proportions whereby the Japanese people are to "ACCEPT CHRIST IN THE PERSON OF THE TENNO," while being kept in ignorance of what they are doing.

The reasoning promoting this cynical ex-diplomat to make such a proposal is undoubtebly found in the following sentence; "THE PEOPLE OF JAPAN ARE NOW CALLED UPON TO DECIDE WHETHER OR NOT TO CONTINUE THE TENNO SYSTEM IN THE FUTURE". Shiratori, like his fellow war criminal defendants, is concerned about the future of Japan and wants Hirohito to remain so he can lead the Japanese "BACK TO THEIR ANCIENT GLORY."

Rabid Reactionary

Formerly adviser to the Foreign Office in the crucial pre-war period, Shiratori was for three years also a weekly lecturer on Foreign Affairs "before the Emperor". As one of the leading pro-Axis extremists who propagandized long before Pearl Harbor in favor of an attack upon the United States and Britain and "driving the white man from Asia".

Shiratori knows the importance of retaining the Emperor as a religious figure to rally the people for a national purpose.

As a Shinto God, Emperor Hirohito served well to lead the Japanese to five wars in the past 10 years, but, because of defeat by the Allies, Shiratori says; "THE DISILLUSIONMENT OF THE PEOPLE IS COMPLETE.... THEY ARE THROWING TO THE WINDS THE FAITH THEY HAD IN KAMI SAMA."

(Kami Sama—Great God, is the name used by the Japanese to describe Hirohito in his capacity of deity. Tenno Haika—Heavenly Ruler, is the name used to designate Hirohito as head of the State. Very few Japanese know the name Hirohito and the term Emperor is never used in Japan.)

The idea that the Japanese may become free from the myths that bind them to the Emperor disturbs Shiratori and the other war criminal defendants. This is obvious from the nature of the defense case conducted by Dr. Ichiro Kiyose, himself a "self-purged" war criminal Diet member and along with Shiratori, a leading member of the banned Imperial Rule Assistance Association and the Rise Asia League. In his original opening statement to the International Military Tribunal, Dr. Kiyose stated that because a defense was being conducted it was not to indicate that the accused did not assume full responsibility for their actions or were in any way placing blame upon the Emperor.

No Repentance

Shiratori in his unpublished letter, criticizes the Japanese people for the "deplorable" fact that they are not bowed down with "repentance", presumably for Japan's defeat, and compares postwar conditions in Nippon with those prevailing in Hebrew history. "THEIR COUNTRY LOST AND GROANING UNDER THE ROMAN YOKE, THE PEOPLE EAGERLY LONGED FOR THE COMING OF THE PROPHESIED MESSIAH, WHO WOULD GIVE THEM BACK THEIR ANCIENT GLORY. THE JAPANESE PEOPLE TODAY, HAVING ASKED OF THEIR DEITY AND TENNO WHAT THEY OUGHT NOT TO HAVE ASKED AND NOT GETTING IT, ARE ON THE POINT OF GIVING THEMSELVES TO AN EVERLASTING NAY." Shiratori compares this with the "HEBREWS" WHO "MURDERED THEIR CHRIST ON THE CROSS."

"What kind of Tenno shall we accept anew as our Sovereign?", the former Ambassador to Rome asks. And answers; "A tenno speaking to his people in the spirit and language of Christ."

"ALTHOUGH A WIDE DISSEMINATION OF CHRISTIANITY AMONG THE PEOPLE AS A RELIGION IN ITS ACCEPTED FORM WILL NOT BE AN EASY AFFAIR AND WLL TAKE A LONG TIME.... A QUICKER SOLUTION OF THE WHOLE QUESTION MIGHT BE FOUND IN THE TENNO SYSTEM. SUPPOSE THE EMPEROR (TENNO) WERE THOROUGHLY TO CHRISTIANIZE HIMSELF IN SPIRIT, AND IN PERSON, TO LEAD THE ENTIRE NATION IN THAT DIRECTION, WOULD NOT THAT RESULT IN PRACTICALLY CHRISTIANIZING JAPAN WHOLESALE AND AT ONE STROKE?"

SHIRATORI WARNS: "IT WOULD NOT DO TO PUT THE MATTER BEFORE THE PEOPLE AS A RELIGIOUS QUESTION, ALTHOUGH, AS FAR AS THE GENERAL PUBLIC ARE CONCERNED, THEIR VERY INDIFFERENCE TO RELIGION MIGHT, IF ANYTHING, FACILITATE THE ACCEPTANCE OF THE PROPOSITION."

Suggesting that Hirohito secretly become a Christian and then: "WHEN THE SUN IS WELL UP IN THE SKY" the truth could be made "TO DAWN" upon the people "GRADUALLY," Shiratori, speaking perhaps from knowledge gained from years of intimacy with Hirohito,

MacArthur On Jap Christianity

IN a lengthy review of the occupation, General MacArthur said last week that "the influence of Christianity was greatly strengthened when Mr. Tetsu Katayama and Mr. Komakichi Matsuoka, both active Christians, became Prime Minister and Speaker of the House, respectively." The number of Christian Church members has been estimated at 500,000, while "sympathizers" are set at 2,000,000 by SCAP. "The Christian tenets of justice, tolerance and understanding which have guided the conduct of the occupation appeared to have contributed materially to the popularizing of Christian principles," the report declared. Readers of the *Review* will be able to glean a few facts from David Conde's article showing just what lies behind this trend.

When the ideal is frustrated by odds,
To practise the principle independently,
Free from excess by wealth and power,
Unswerving even in poverty and lowliness,
and unbent by threat and force,
Such is the great man!"
(writer's own version)

In another passage Mencius made another assertion that the world can only be made secure by becoming one. So welcome, educators from many nations, let's beat catastrophe by becoming one and forward to the isles of our dreams, sail on, sail on!

glibly concludes: "IF FORMS AND RITUALS ARE NOT INSISTED UPON, IF IT IS MAINLY A QUESTION OF SPIRIT AND SUBSTANCE, I DO NOT SUPPOSE THAT HIS MAJESTY WILL MUCH HESITATE TO ESPOUSE THE CHRISTIAN FAITH."

No Hard Task

"THE METAMORPHOSIS (from Shinto to Christianity) MIGHT PROVE EASIER OF ACCOMPLISHMENT THAN IS COMMONLY IMAGINED," he adds, pointing out that the "roof" of the ISE SHRINE (dedicated to the Sun Goddess) forms a "CROSS" and "IT IS SAID THAT ON THE BACK OF THE SACRED MIRROR, IS WRITING IN WHAT IS APPARENTLY THE HEBREW ALPHABET." Even the "GATES OF THE TEMPLE IN JERUSALEM BEAR THE CREST OF THE CHRYSANTHEMUM" (the insignia of the Japanese Empsror) and "A TRUE INTERPRETATION OF SHINTOISM WOULD BRING IT VERY NEAR CHRISTIANITY."

"SHALL WE ACCEPT CHRIST IN THE PERSON OF THE TENNO?" asks the Tenno's former tutor, "THE TIME IS MORE RIPE ....AND A BEGINNING SHOULD BE MADE FORTHWITH IN THE EDUCATION OF THE CROWN PRINCE."

Revealing that his concern is not only for spiritual matters, Shiratori asserts, "DEMOCRACY IS THE WATCHWORD OF THE DAY.... BUT IT WOULD NOT DO FOR JAPAN TO BE TAKEN UP WITH POLITICAL, ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL REFORMS ALONE." Japan must become "Christian" and "peaceful" and only by "Christianizing" and retaining the Emperor can both of these objectives be achieved.

All Japanese do not love peace as he does, ex-propagandist Shiratori asserts: "WE ARE NOW IN SUCH A SUBDUED MOOD THAT NO ONE EVEN DREAMS OF ANOTHER WAR OF ANY SORT IN THE MEASUREABLE FUTURE, BUT THERE BE MANY AMONG US TO WHOM RENOUNCING WAR OF ANY SORT, UNDER ANY CIRCUMSTANCES AND FOR ALL TIME TO COME, MIGHT APPEAR QUITE ANOTHER THING. HONEST MISGIVINGS MIGHT BE ENTERTAINED FOR WANTON ATTACKS FROM OUR CONTINENTAL NEIGHBORS, OR VAIN HOPES MIGHT STILL LURK IN SOME DISHONEST BOSOMS FOR A FUNDAMENTAL CHANGE IN INTERNATIONAL.....RELATIONS." (This was written prior to the open Soviet-American break.)

Peaceful Tenno

To assure perpetual peace, Shiratori pleads that the "NO WAR" clause in the New Constitution be made contingent upon the retention of the Emperor. "ONLY BY BINDING UP THAT CLAUSE INDISSOLUBLY WITH THE PROVISIONS CONCERNING THE EMPEROR AND BY MAKING THAT CHAPTER OF THE CODE UNREVISABLE.... CAN WE ASSURE ETERNAL PEACE FOR THIS NATION." In this Shiratori ignores the facts of recent history in which Hirohito did not prevent wars but led them as "Holy crusades."

The reaction of Prime Minister Yoshida to Shiratori's proposal to have, "THE TENNO IDENTIFY HIMSELF BEFORE HIS PEOPLE WITH THE PRINCE OF PEACE," is not known.

It is known that the highest levels in the American Occupation, SCAP's Religious Section, and many important visiting Christian leaders have discussed this question of "Christianizing" the Emperor.

Within Japan, strong proponents of the idea point out that the Crown Prince already has a Christian teacher and for many months Emperor Hirohito has been taking Christian instruction.

Some observers in Tokyo believe that the Emperor has already become a Christian but the fact is being concealed until it can "dawn on the people gradually."

If this is true, it might be the basis for General MacArthur's claim that Japan has had a "spiritual revolution," a statement which observers have been unable to confirm.

It is an interesting post-war fact that Toshio Shiratori, one of Japan's most hardened war criminal defendants, should have anticipated, or perhaps even originated, much of this "Christianize the Emperor" thinking. In the light of Shiratori's letter, it would seem that such a "conversion" would be not a matter of the spirit but a scheme for Imperial survival.

Muslim Dominion Views Foreign Relations

HARIN SHAH

(Special Correspondent, The China Weekly Review)

New Delhi, July 28.

WHAT type of state structure, national economy, internal political alignments and foreign relations might the world expect of Pakistan, while acknowledging the first post-war birth of a Sovereign State?

Born out of such avowed religious fanaticism, will Pakistan speedily line up behind Pan-Islamism and be absorbed into the Arab League?

Faced with the shortage of capital and technological skill and charged with the task of making a fresh start towards building industries, communication facilities and defence forces requisite in this modern world, will Pakistan be able to ignore the imposing gestures from one world power or the other and resist the impulse to enlist in either of the Blocs?

What trends and relations is Pakistan likely to develop towards the predominantly Muslim Soviet Republics of Central Asia, which lie just across the Hindu State of Kashmir?

What bearing will the birth of this largest Muslim State have on the neighboring and aroused Muslim nationalism of Sinkiang?

British Responsible?

While India remains convinced that underhand British machinations and encouragement of Muslim secessionist sentiments were responsible for the division of India, it is equally certain that Pakistan will drop its Dominion Status like a drop of sweat and get out of the British Empire. Islam is a crusading faith and judging from the boiling nationalism in the Islamic countries from the African coast to the Himalayas, it is utterly improbably that Pakistan will choose to remain long within the British Empire's fold.

For all practical purposes, the British Dominions have remained a White Man's Trade Union and it is a question of how much they can welcome a Muslim Dominion without detriment to their Imperial Unity. The British school of thought, though, hopes to utilize the Muslim Dominion as a useful staging post against the defiant Pan-Islamism of the Middle East. This is not to suggest that there will not be close economic relations between Pakistan and England for a certain length of time. To many observers, there seems a real possibility that Pakistan will swing faster towards the left than Hindustan-India.

Behind the resounding success of the Muslim League's organization in winning Pakistan within such an incredibly short time as seven years—the Muslim League demanded Pakistan in a resolution passed in 1940 at Lahore—there was Mr. Mohmed Ali Jinnah's shrewd leadership, as well as the backing of Mullans and Maulvis, of Nawabs and Zaminders

(landlords), of Muslim big business which felt the brunt of the advanced Hindu competition, and of the young Muslim intelligentsia which comprised its leftist thinking with communalist politics solely on the assumption that Hindu bourgeoisie was more obstinate than Muslim bourgeoisie.

Now that the League leader Mohmed Ali Jinnah has accepted the Governor-Generalship, Pakistan enters a period of League tutelage, and the future of the Muslim League as a mass organization remains in the realism of speculation. That, also, simultaneously raises the question of prospects of other political parties arising in Pakistan. The Muslim League had a fighting mission which is now accomplished. Like the Congress which rallied all inter-conflicting elements under the flag of challenge to foreign rule, the League rallied under its Green and Crescent, inter-conflicting strata of the Muslim Society under the slogans "Islam In Danger," and "Hindu Domination."

A splitting from the inside or at least a crystalization of groups, will be logical, natural and inevitable. Without a positive economic program, the league will be without a positive excuse for its existence as a mass organization. In Indian politics over the last half-century, the most glaring truth has been the fact that a political party in active opposition always thrived, but declined once it assumed office. The scramble for office and power has already begun to divide the ranks of League leadership.

Of major importance is the fact that there has not been much economic enterprise, much less industrial enterprise among India's Muslims with the consequence that there is an absence of a Muslim middle class. The Muslim pyramid is comprised of hard pressed peasantry, artisans and workers supporting petty businessmen and office employees, and on top are the Nawabs and Khans and landlords. It remains to be seen how the leadership of Pakistan will fight for the social and economic betterment of the masses through the tight ring of the Mullans, Maulvis, Nawabs and landlords who have been its precious allies until recently. It also remains to be seen what industrial and labor pattern they will evolve and how they intend to reconcile, reject or resist foreign aspirations and inspirations.

Outside the Muslim League, there is no other political organization in India, with the exception of the Communist Party, with so many sincere, zealous and very capable Muslim leaders and workers. Some of these Muslim Communists hold influential positions in the League's provincial leadership and the League press. The maneuvering stage will soon be over for them and then they will have to challenge the powerful Rightist-Leaguers and openly campaign for the following of League-minded masses.

The Nationalist Muslims who stood by the Congress for the tradition of sacrifice and opposed Pakistan, will now have to revise their entire position. So far they have been harangued by their League opponents as paid agents of the Hindu dominated Congress, but now they can fight the reactionary Muslims and vested interests as loyal citizens of Pakistan and leaders of the Muslim masses. In India, they are rapidly adapting themselves to the changing situation, instead of clinging to old shibboleths. They are forgetting the division of Muslims as secessionist pro-Leaguers and pro-Congress Nationalists, and are hurrying to take the leadership of the entire Muslim community still remaining in India, in order to prevent the opportunist and the poisoned communalists from again exploiting the illiterate, excitable Muslims and threatening the Indian Republic.

Wings are beginning to emerge from the shoulders of the League's left, right and center. This will also determine largely what politics the Minority Communities develop in Pakistan. If efforts are made to consolidate Pakistan as a purely Muslim State, and if Muslim laws, which essentially originate from medieval conceptions, are promulgated, then efforts at conversion of the Hindus and Sikhs to Islam under duress and State connivance, if not patronage, are likely to develop and aggravate a serious political problem. This could not possibly pass without serious repercussions in India.

Pakistan is quite likely to invite foreign capital and technicians, notably from the U.S.A. According to reports available, contracts have been handed over to America for building a first class shipyard at Karachi, and for developing Chittagong, in Eastern Pakistan, as a close and flourishing rival to the port of Calcutta. This move is bound to engage the attention of Burma, because Chittagong as a first class commercial port and naval station will be a powerful window opening into Burma.

Already, voices have been heard from Cairo and other Arab kingdoms, jubilantly heralding the dream of Pan-Islamism from the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean. The Arab League has pointed out the technical disqualification of Pakistan from Arab League membership, since the latter is a non-Arab state, but that seems to be a diplomatically expedient move. The bond of Islam could be found to be stronger than blood tissues. There is no doubt that the creation of Pakistan will encourage the evolution of a Pan-Islamic Bloc. How far it will strike its path though the blades of Anglo-American and Soviet Union line-ups remains to be seen.

The Asiatic Republics of the Soviet Union have recently commenced normal cultural intercourse with India. Six Republics sent delegations to the Inter-Asian Conference this year. Their impressions of India, which were published in the Soviet press, caused lively reactions in India. It should be expected that with the more compact cultural and "religious" ties now siftable between Pakistan and these Republics, their relations must develop. Much will depend, among other things, upon the internal political situation of Pakistan.

The trends in Pakistan are likely to invite deep interest in China, too. So far, the leadership of Pakistan has had no time to concern itself with affairs beyond its own borders, but it is known that it looks upon Sinkiang as a Muslim nation, perfectly entitled to Sovereign Statehood, such as Pakistan has attained. It will not be surprising if close concert develops between Pakistan and Sinkiang and if the pace of events in Sinkiang is hastened; China's diplomats may expect some hard work.

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Speedy Action Required To Aid Trade

J. R. KAIM

A WEEK ago, it was pointed out in this journal that the new foreign exchange regulations do offer new and better trade possibilities. While such a statement was based on views expressed by local businessmen, it must now be said that the same quarters fear some of those chances have been missed. They are afraid that commodity prices will continue to rise. They doubt that, in terms of foreign exchange, prices will remain at a level permitting competition on foreign markets. But they still believe that the Government and its agencies are able to avoid further losses and to improve the foreign exchange situation by fostering exports.

To begin with, it had been hoped that with a view to keeping down prices of basic industrial materials, import quotas of such commodities would be raised. Up to the time of writing, this has not been the case and prices of such goods, in terms of American dollars, have shown ups rather than downs.

Shanghai businessmen opine that as a first step it should not even be necessary to expand such quotas at once. For there is much cargo in China, so much indeed that if it were offered on the market, prices would react—providing the cargo in question were "free". But it is not. Weeks ago, the Export Import Board published its Press Notifications No. 1 and No. 2, well known to all importers in China, and for some time it looked as if the huge stocks stored in the Customs would be permitted to enter Shanghai. The bulk of such cargo in bond is considered "imports without exchange", i.e. most of the goods have been ordered abroad and have been paid for without either import licence or foreign exchange obtained from The Central Bank. Whether to order and ship those cargoes was right or wrong is one question, whether or not to use them in order to increase stocks on hand is another.

Goods Paid For

For, whatever may have caused the importer to order the goods now bonded for many months, the actual fact is that they have been paid for and that funds used for such transactions were, directly or indirectly, Chinese capital (no matter, of course, whether the importers were Chinese or foreign nationals).

However, instead of bringing back such capital to China, the above mentioned press notifications made it clear that matters would not be as easy as that. Far from permitting immediate entrance of bonded and paid for cargo, the Board expressed the view that bonded stocks must first be registered and only then will it be decided how the cargo will be disposed of. Rumors were that a few days after the publication of the two notifications, some merchants decided not only not to register their cargo but to "re-ship" it, to what were called other ports. In plain language, they intended to ship it to either Hongkong or Macao or, perhaps, Canton. To what extent this has been done, of course, is unknown.

Perhaps the Government and its agencies will finally decide that bonded goods may be imported, except those not permissible according to the general import regulations, and if such decision is reached, the market will no doubt react. Certainly, this it will do only for a few days or a couple of weeks, but even so short a period may offer trade a chance, and the exporter the possibility to obtain orders from abroad at acceptable prices.

While importation of bonded goods would be only "a shot in the arm," increased import quotas for basic industrial materials would go a long way in keeping down prices. But up to the time of writing, indications are that no such changes in quotas are contemplated and if nothing of this kind happens, commodity prices will continue on their upward trend, the cost of living will increase and private exports become a rather hopeless affair again.

Advances Still Low

Towards the middle of this week, prices of essential commodities, though increasing, were still below the margin offered by the new official foreign exchange market rate. In other words, while the official U.S. dollar market rate had gone up more than 200 percent, the maximum price advance in the field of domestic materials was around 50 percent. As to imported goods, prices had increased far more and in some cases the increases came very near to the 200 percent margin. Nevertheless, price increases of domestic products must be considered as only *relatively* small; it is no secret that in many lines dealers, as well as manufacturers, prior to August 17, failed to base their calculations on the then existing official rates of exchange.

It has often been said that what is especially hampering China's economy is the Civil War and all it stands for, and that this statement is correct from any point of view certainly needs no confirmation Now, however, we have a chance that does not depend on the civil strife. We have the possibility to use the advantages of the new regulations but we may just as well "miss the bus."

By utilizing advantages created by the August foreign exchange regulations, and by using possibilities such as offered by the presence of huge stocks in bond, the Government may help both manufacturers and exporters. Unfortunately, some time has already been lost and indications are that not only have some of the bonded cargoes been "re-shipped" but certain exporters, too, prefer dark South China ways to legitimate trading. If news to this effect is correct The Central Bank again fails to receive all the foreign exchange deriving from exports.

All this shows that quick action is necessary. Or rather, that after the first step taken on August 16, the next should follow swiftly. Just as in the case of bonded cargo it would have been possible to bring back into China the capital spent and at the same time to satisfy the market at least for some time; but the necessary decisions are believed to have been postponed too long.

Still, it is not yet too late. A good portion of the great optimism shown by Chinese businessmen on August 17 has vanished, but the majority is still confident that ways will be found and opportunities used before it may be too late. The first step, naturally, would be to import all the permissible goods still in bond; the very high number of applications filed by local importers shows that huge quantities of various commodities are available—all paid for. Without spending a single dollar, the Government would be in a position to aid trade and industries.

Liu Po-cheng Operates In Honan

MARK M. LU

Kaifeng, August 26.

IN order to relieve Liu Po-cheng, Communist General, who has penetrated from western Shantung into southern Honan by crossing the Lunghai Railway in eastern Honan, the Communist Army, under command of Han Chun and Chen Keng, estimated at 50,000, crossed the Yellow River at Sinan, Mienchih and Shangchow in Western Honan from Southern Shansi, on the night of August 22nd.

After strengthening their bridgeheads by holding all the ferries along the south bank of the Yellow River, they split along three routes. On one route, after taking Hweihsingchen Station of the Lunghai Railway, east of Shangchow, and damaging one section of the railway and a big bridge, they penetrated southward in an attempt to take Lushih and Loning, near the Honan-Shensi border. Another group took Sinan, a railway town between Shangchow and Loyang. Those on the third route attempted to occupy Loyang, a very important strategic point in Western Honan.

Sand Bags Taken

Upon hearing that the Communists crossed the Yellow River, the Garrison Commander of Loyang commandeered 5,000 sand bags from the local people and ordered them to be delivered within 3 hours. At the same time, he advised the families of the military officers to move to safer areas.

For this reason, all the local people became temporarily frightened, but were later pacified. The Government has massed heavy troops in the vicinity of Loyang in order to meet the Communist attack.

According to local competant military observers, the Government is mostly interested in concentrating troops against the one-eyed Communist General Liu Po-cheng, who now operates in Southern Honan. The military situation in Western Honan is considered of secondary importance.

It may be recalled that the Communists had prepared to cross the Yellow River in western Honan more than half a year ago. They had conscripted blacksmiths and carpenters to build big boats, each of which could hold 50 persons.

They had carried on boat-making day and night, and the sound of wood sawing could be heard clearly by the Government River Defense Army on the south bank of the Yellow River.

After suffering losses in Western Shantung, Communist General Liu Po-cheng has penetrated into Southern Honan, and now seemingly attempts to rest and improve his military positions. The Government has massed huge numbers of troops to strike him from two sides, from east and south.

Reds Well Equipped

During the past year, General Liu Po-cheng attacked Honan three times. First, in August of last year, and then in the spring of the current year. This is his third attempt. It is learned that the Communists are well equipped and carry with them large quantities of ammunition and heavy weapons.

After crossing the East Section of the Lunghai Railway, the Communist Army under Liu Po-cheng, has split into two groups. One group seems to be the main force, penetrating on the Honan-Anhwei border and southern Honan in an attempt to occupy either the Tapieh Mountains, east of the Pinghan Railway, or the Tungpei Mountains, west of the Pinghan Railway, both on Honan-Hupeh border, for use as a base. Another contingent has crossed the South Section of the Pinghan Railway, between Loho and Sinyang.

At the time of this writing, it is learned that fighting is taking place in the vicinity of Sinyang, on the south Honan border. One small group, by way of Peiyang has already reached the Nanyang region, a very important strategic point in southwest Honan.

General Liu Mao-en, Governor of Honan province, has instructed all the local militia in southwest Honan to take strict precautionary measures and strike a heavy blow against the Communists.

In view of the above facts, it would seem that one part of the Communists, after crossing the Yellow River in Western Honan, is penetrating southward, and one part under Liu Po-cheng, is penetrating westward by crossing the South Section of the Pinghan Railway. It seems they are attempting to meet either at Nanyang or the Funiu Mountains. The Government, however, is well prepared to smash their ambitious attempt.

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Businessmen Expect Uptrend

BUSINESS during the first part of the week under review was very active with quotations increasing inasmuch as no American assistance appeared to be promised by the farewell statement of the Wedemeyer Mission. The effects of the new control regulations having evaporated, businessmen believed the expected general rise of prices in July and August would finally be realized in September.

Not only did commodity prices go up, charges of public utilities are expected to be increased also. The price of gasoline, which is highly important to transportation, rose to CNC$13,000 per gallon since oil companies are to pay (as of August 16) foreign exchange at the rate of CNC$39,000 or CNC$38,500 per American dollar. The fares of the aviation companies went up 80 percent during the week.

New Rate Inflexible

It is interesting to note that despite the intention of the authorities to have a flexible rate of foreign exchange, the Foreign Exchange Stabilization Committee has maintained the same rate for the past two weeks—CNC$38,500 to US$1. At the same time, the black market rate was 15 percent higher. However, the exchange rate for Pound Sterling has declined.

In an attempt to call in gold bars and greenbacks from the public, the authorities made an important decision recently regarding their purchasing prices. Greenbacks may be sold to the designated banks at the open market rate with a 3 percent discount. As to gold bars, they will be purchased by the Central Bank of China at the price of US$40 per ounce. The Central Bank is not to pay American dollars for the purchase of gold, but its equivalent in Chinese dollars, according to the open market exchange rate. In other words, the Central Bank will offer CNC$1,540,000 per ounce, while the black market rate is about CNC$1,000,000 higher. Under these circumstances, it can hardly be expected that any appreciable quantity of greenbacks or gold bars will be sold to the Central Bank of China.

Reports are current again to the effect that goods already brought to Shanghai, but not yet been imported because of the lack of import license, will be purchased by the authorities either at the official exchange rate of CNC$12,000, or the market rate of CNC$38,500 to US$1. Importers are anxiously awaiting the decision of the authorities on this matter and it is generally believed that importers may suffer heavy losses. It is reported that goods brought here without import license after August 17 will be turned back.

Trade For June

China's foreign trade figures for the month of June were released by the Chinese Maritime Customs. Total imports for June were valued at CNC$532,461,420,000, while total exports stood at CNC$266,708,150,000. The excess of imports over exports for the month was CNC$265,753,270,000. Imports for the first six months of the current year totaled CNC$2,371,880,150,000, while exports for the period were CNC$1,168,105,393,000. Thus, the import excess during the period was CNC$1,203,774,757,000.

Imports were led by soap, oil, candles, fats, wax and resin. Foodstuffs came next. As in previous months, America occupied the first place in the list of countries exporting goods to China. Most of China's exports also went to the United States.

The following table gives the quotations of some of the leading commodities in Shanghai for this week, as compared with the previous week:

	Week Ending August 23 CNC$	Week Ending August 30 CNC$
Bond C	14,400	15,500
Wing On Textile ...	217	246
Mayar Silk ...	378	410
Ewo Cotton ..	84,500	88,000
Rice	415,000	500,000
Wheat flour ..	125,000	128,000
Peanut oil ...	992,000	1,060,000
20's Yarn	10,950,000	12,100,000
Raw Silk	29,500,000	32,500,000
Rayon	26,100,000	27,300,000
Ruby Queen Cigarettes .	124,200	147,000
Koo Ban Soap	479,000	513 000
My Dear Matches ...	3,170,000	3,300,000
Newsprint	295,000	365,000

BUSINESS FOOT-NOTES

Belonging to the American Mail Line, the S.S. *Oregon Mail* arrived outside Woosung from Columbia River, British Columbia, Canada and Puget Sound. In addition to two passengers for disembarkation here, the steamer brought 3,318 tons of ammunition consigned to Board of Supplies, Executive Yuan; 2,328,000 board feet of timber and 781 tons of general cargo for various local consignees.

* * *

Hongkong's trade in July hit a new postwar high for the second consecutive month, according to official government statistics, *UP* reported from that city. The month was highlighted by resumption of trade with Germany which received a small shipment of vegetable oils, and arrival of the biggest shipments to date of Japanese textiles and piecegoods. Total imports had a declared value (in millions) of HK$142 and exports HK$102, compared with HK$130 and HK$100 in June. Imports from the U.K. and the U.S. fell of slightly while exports to the U.S. dropped by half from the previous month.

* * *

Letters signed "New German National Socialist Party" have been received in the British zone town of Hanover, announcing that a memorial for victims of fascism to be unveiled there on September 12 "will not remain standing for long," the German news service in the United States zone reported recently. Former concentration camp inmates are to form a guard of honor, under uniformed German police protection, near memorials in Lower Saxony on September 13 and 14—days commemorating the dead of the "underground fight" against the Nazi regime.

* * *

The Soviet military administration, through its official newspaper in Berlin, recently cited such recent incidents as the smashing of a monument to the victims of Nazi concentration camps, the desecration of Jewish cemetries, the tearing down of placards posted by the Socialist Unity Party and a demonstration at which a group of Germans reportedly sang the "Horst Wessel" song. The paper warned the Germans that they themselves had better put this movement down or otherwise "it will be done again by foreign powers," said an *AP* dispatch from Berlin.

* * *

The Philippine Islands, for more than two years an Eldorado for American exporters and local speculators, today face the problem of a glutted market in consumer goods, including foodstuffs and clothing, according to *Reuters'*. It is feared that unless the current gluts are relieved through some emergency measures, such as the re-exportation of surpluses, the expected business slump is likely to materialize sooner than anticipated. Recently there has been a closing down in buying of consumers' articles, according to trade observers, with supplies of a number of commodities more than could be taken care of by current demand.

* * *

The Central Trust may import a further batch of Japanese bicycles to Shanghai. The shipment will consist of about 10,000 bicycles. Judging by the cost of the goods, the bicycles can be sold at a price which is one-third cheaper than the local stock. Also imported by the Central Trust recently were 300,000 yards of Japanese woolen fabrics. In response to a demand of the local dealers, the Central Trust subsequently promised to reship the fabrics to the South Seas where they will be sold eventually, the *Yien Pao* said.

* * *

Discovery of rich coal reserves, totalling 1,000,000,000 tons, in Northern Anhwei province, is reported by Director Hsieh Chia-yun of the Bureau of Mines under the National Resources Commission. The new coal field is reported to be of more importance than even the famous Kailan mines in North China. Development of the new coal mine is expected to have an important bearing on the industrialization of the Lower Yangtze Valley, especially in view of the unsettled conditions near Kailan and in Manchuria.

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Automotive:—

Gasoline and Diesel Powered Vehicles.

Fuels:—

Diesel and Fuel Oils, Gasoline, Kerosene.

Process Products:—

Cosmetic and Insecticide Base Oils, Petroleum Alcohols, Naphtha Solvents, Wetting and Drying Agents, Microcrystalline and Paraffine Waxes and Enamels.

What U.S. Papers Say . . .

GENERAL Wedemeyer's statement prior to his departure from China was the subject of many U.S. press editorials last week: the *New York Herald-Tribune* denounced the "right wing in China," and other editorials commented on the fall of the Greek cabinet.

* * *

WEDEMEYER MISSION

"GENERAL Wedemeyer and his aides found a great yearning for peace, but apathy, defeatism, selfishness, inefficiency and corruption in her political circles are preventing China from the attainment of either peace or economic rehabilitation that the people so earnestly desire," declared the *Washington Post*. "Unfortunately, there is not much hope that his words will be heeded....To suppose that General Wedemeyer's criticism can now set the wheels of reform in motion after General Marshall failed to do so is asking too much of credulity. The chief effect of General Wedemeyer's forthcoming report to President Truman will doubtless be, therefore, to confirm the wisdom of the United States' hands-off policy.

"There has been increasing pressure on the Administration in recent months to change its China policy in the direction of greater aid for Nanking. The Wedemeyer statement gives no warrant whatsoever for any such shift. On the contrary, it underlines the necessity of waiting for the Chinese to put their own house in order. Incidentally, that underlining comes at a moment when it is made even more emphatic by the obligations we have assumed in Greece and Western Europe," the *Post* concluded.

"Nanking officials are reported to feel resentment that once again they have received a lecture on morality from a leading American representative," said the *Christian Science Monitor*. "But if they want American aid they must accept the fact that 'drastic and far-reaching political and economic reforms,' in General Wedemeyer's words, can justify and safeguard such aid....

"Deep sympathy for the Chinese people and world strategy alike impel the American demand that Chinese leadership clean house and win aid by attacking the causes, not merely the effects, of Communism."

* * *

CHINA

A *New York Herald-Tribune* editorial on the "right-wing in China" said, "Reactionary Chinese cliques including the large one led by the brothers Chen Li-fu and Chen Kuo-fu never have been sympathetic to American ideas. They would not be sympathetic to any point of view based on democratic principles.

"They are opponents of the Communists but reject the insistence of Americans that Communism can be resisted in China only by offering the people of the country benefits that can be obtained from Communism plus civil liberties, including the right of political dissent.

"The right-wingers cling to the support of semi-feudal ideas in opposition to Communism rather than to democratic ideas. They persist in the belief, no matter how often it is proved wrong, that Chinese armies recruited from peasants will fight valiantly in support of an inefficient, corrupt government of a semi-feudal character.

"This has been of such great advantage to the Reds that the right-wingers should be on the Communist payrolls. The right-wingers have enabled the Communists to convince some Chinese that the conflict in China is not one between communism and democracy but one between communism and feudalism," the *Herald-Tribune* said in conclusion.

* * *

GREECE

A HOPE that the new Government in Greece will be broadened to represent a unified free nation was expressed by the majority of the press. The *New York Post* commented: "No government can fight a war without support of the people, particularly such a war as the anti-Communist Greek Government now faces. That is the reason why any Greek Government, to succeed in resisting Communist resort to arms, must regain the confidence of the Greeks who genuinely value democracy."

The *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette* declared: "The fall of the Greek Government resulted from both internal and external pressures. There has been widespread dissatisfaction both in Greece and abroad with the Government's inability to deal effectively with guerilla raiders. The Government has often been branded as inefficient and corrupt. Greece needs a broadened government more acceptable both to its own people and to this country, a government capable of utilizing to the best the millions in relief now beginning to flow from the United States."

The *Washington Post* said U.S. policy in Greece never contemplated the underwriting of an ultra-conservative regime. "A sharp modification of that regime was implicit in the American aid program from the beginning, for the independence of Greece can be saved only by the restoration of order and peace along with reconstruction that will make living conditions tolerable for the Greek people, and these changes can be brought about only by a government in which most of the people have confidence. The most astute observers on the scene believe that the Civil War can be ended promptly only by assuring the rebels of political amnesty, by restoring civil rights and by releasing the republican leaders who have been jailed or exiled solely for political reasons," the editorial concluded.

Who's Who in China

DR. LIANG DA-PEN, university professor and government official; born at Hainan Island, July 8, 1908; B.A., Fuhtan University, Shanghai, 1930; M.A., Michigan University, 1932; Ph. D., New

Dr. Liang Da-pen

（梁大鵬）

York University, 1937; publisher and editor-in-chief of *Quancer Critic Fortnightly*, 1937-42; counsellor to Ministry of Oversea Affairs, 1939-44; member of People's Political Council of Kwangtung province, 1939-42; professor of Political Science at National Fuh-tan University, 1939-41; editor-in-chief of *National Herald* (English), 1942; director of Liaison Department of China Branch of International Peace Campaign, 1934; now, Professor at National Sun Yat-sen University; Co-founder of University of Hainan; Member of the Chinese Political Science Association; Member of Kuomintang; Member of Hainan Society of Studies; author of: Translation from English into Chinese: N. Kilazawa's, The Government of Japan; K. S. Latourette's, The Development of Japan; The Development of Philippine Political Parties, 1939; address: Canton Office of Hainan University, 502, Tiger Balm Building, Canton, Kwangtung.

The Supreme Soviet of the USSR recently issued decrees on the ratification of peace treaties with Germany's former satellites in Europe, Rumania, Hungary, Bulgaria, Finland and Italy, concluded in Paris on February 10, 1947. The decrees were signed by President of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, M. Shvernik and Secretary of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, A. Gorkin, according to a *TASS* report.

* * *

From January to June of this year, 965 labor disputes were settled in the various leading cities of China through the offices of the Ministry of Social Affairs, according to statistics released by the Ministry recently. By far the largest number of these disputes, 788, occurred in Shanghai. Following were Chungking with 53; Tientsin, 39; Hankow, 31; Tsingtao, 27; Nanking, 19 and Canton eight.

* * *

Beginning from August, a buck private in the Chinese army will get CNC$120,000 a month, half of which will be deducted for food, as a result of an Executive Yuan resolution to readjust the pay-scale of the armed forces, *Central Daily News* reported. The new pay for buck privates is twice as much as they received before the readjustment.

What Chinese Papers Say

NOT unexpectedly there was considerable editorial comment in the Chinese press on General Wedemeyer's farewell message; the *Ta Kung Pao* described his words as poignant and useful and most of the local press agreed with this opinion. The question of postponement of the General Elections, the levying of property tax and the current Korean situation were also discussed.

* * *

WEDEMEYER MESSAGE

"WHEN the coming of the Wedemeyer mission was announced, various quarters expressed the hope that the United States would extend aid to China. Naturally, it is too early yet for General Wedemeyer to indicate in his message whether such aid will be forthcoming or not. However, he has criticized the Chinese people for their apathy and lethargy and their failure to seek to solve their own problems, for they have devoted considerable time and efforts to seeking foreign aid. These words of his are quite correct, and any Chinese with self-respect should feel ashamed of himself," the *Ta Kung Pao* said, and continued by expressing admiration of General Wedemeyer's perception in finding that the Chinese people's greatest need and passionate longing is for peace. This paper also defined the cause of the current defeatist attitude among the Chinese people as being because "they are dissatisfied and disgusted with the existing situation. A deeper study will reveal that this phenomenon is not negative in character. The situation in China has developed to a stage where it must be reformed. We are afraid that General Wedemeyer's understanding is not yet that deep."

The *Ta Kung Pao* concluded by quoting Wedemeyer's statement that Communism will not be eliminated by force alone and added that as things are at present every effort is being made to suppress the Communists while the political and economic situation is deteriorating steadily. "While Wedemeyer's message is not perfect, yet it indicates that after one month's strenuous effort he has gained a relatively deep understanding of the situation in this country. His words will be quite useful to us Chinese."

A slightly less approving attitude on this subject was taken by the *Shun Pao* which criticized General Wedemeyer for having shunned various local industrial, commercial and educational organizations and stated that "among those received by Special Envoy Wedemeyer, those whose views differ from those of the Government were given priorities. We are very much afraid that the words of these people will be of little help, not only to Sino-American relations, but also to the general world situation."

The national characters of China and the United States are not entirely identical, so one must not measure present day politics in China by the American standard, the paper said.

In conclusion, the *Shun Pao* reiterated the fact that "the Chinese people would like very much to maintain the friendship between the United States and China, that whether the United States is going to extend any aid to China or not is a question that deserves careful consideration by the United States herself, and that the Chinese people are not very much interested in same. So long as it does not undermine China's sovereignty and national honor, any proposal made by Special Envoy Wedemeyer and any advice which the United States may give us will be welcomed by us. On the other hand, the Chinese people certainly do not want to see their own Government undermine China's sovereignty and national honor in order to obtain the aid of the United States. This is China's way of doing things; it is also the pride of the Chinese people."

* * *

GENERAL ELECTIONS

COMMENTING on the question of whether the General Elections should be postponed due to the Civil War and generally unsettled conditions in China, the *Sin Wen Pao* said that "recently some people in Nanking and Kwangtung have demanded that the General Elections be postponed and that the Government convoke a special session of the National Assembly to 'decide upon the date for the convocation of the Constitution-enforcing National Assembly and to discuss related questions, so as to facilitate rebellion quelling and national reconstruction.' This problem seems to have become a point at issue in present day politics.

"So far as the present realities are concerned, it might have been a proposal for remedying the situation if it had been suggested in June, 1946 or even in October last, that the convocation of the National Assembly or the holding of the General Elections be postponed. However, the National Assembly was held last year and the Constitution has been promulgated. Rebellion quelling and national reconstruction have become the supreme policy of the Government, which is now making positive preparations for the General Elections. It is possible that the results of the elections will not be highly satisfactory. However, under existing conditions, elections will be better than no elections, and those elected will be better than those appointed by the Government. We have very strong political reasons for opposing the postponement of the General Elections. We also have very strong legal reasons for feeling that the General Elections should be held as scheduled," the *Sin Wen Pao* concluded.

* * *

PROPERTY TAX

ANOTHER *Sin Wen Pao* editorial was devoted to the levying of the property tax. "In principle, we are fully in favor of property tax by the Government through the proper legislative procedure. However, so far as the method of levying such tax is concerned, we feel that the decision reached by the Government the other day requires further consideration. We feel that the minimum taxable amount of CNC$50,000,000,000 as decided upon by the Government is too high. Today, people lay too much emphasis upon the 'favored families.' We feel that the wealthy people outside the 'favored families' should not be left out. Hence we are of the opinion that the minimum taxable amount should be reduced to CNC$5,000,000,000.

"In levying property tax, it will not be easy to be fair under the principle of not disturbing the people too much. We are of the opinion that the levy of property tax should not be handled by the financial authorities alone. It should be handled jointly by the financial and judicial authorities and the public opinion agencies. Only in this way can the work prove a success," concluded the paper.

* * *

KOREA

THE *Ta Kung Pao* proposed that to solve the Korean problem the earnest cooperation of the Four Powers is essential. "As a matter of fact, the Korean question is now being handicapped not by the agreed principle of settling the issue, but by merely some secondary factors created through the differences of political ideologies of the United States and Soviet Russia. The principle of independence of that country has been decided in the Cairo Conference and reasserted in the Potsdam Declaration and the Moscow Declaration, December 27, 1945.

"The current stalemate in Korea, however, is chiefly brought forth by the controversies between the U.S. and U.S.S.R. which make it impossible for them to reach agreements on the formation of an interim Korean government. It can be seen that the sharp contradictions between North and South Korea today have nothing to do with the free will of the Korean people but are mainly created by the differences of the two powers," asserted the paper. In order to arrive at a reasonable solution to the Korean problem, "the Four Powers should faithfully discuss the question over, while the U.S. and U.S.S.R. must forsake their concept of expanding their influence in that area. If the two powers could act accordingly, the settlement of the Korean problem would be extremely easy," concluded the *Ta Kung Pao*.

NEW BOOKS OF INTEREST

Power

A. P. GIANNINI: *Giant in the West: A Biography by Julian Dana. Published by Prentice-Hall, New York,* 1947. 345 *pages.* U.S.$4.50.

AN AMERICAN DYNASTY: *The Story of the McCormicks, Medills and Pattersons by John Tebbel. Published by Doubleday, Garden City, N.Y.* 1947. 363 *pages.* US$-3.00 *Reviewed by F. M. Roberts.*

BANKING and the press—two vital activities in the life of a nation, two families and their hold on American life—are the themes of these two books. The life of these families seems a kind of anachronism today, a survival of the aggressive individualism and the pioneer spirit of an earlier day. There is however a basic difference of approach in the two books. Julian Dana, writing of the banker Giannini, idealizes his hero. To John Tebbel the newspaper clan of whom he writes are the villains of the piece.

A. P. Giannini, the son of Italian immigrants to California, is a Horatio Alger character who grew up not only to make branch banking practical, but to become the head of the Bank of America, which is the largest in the world, the only bank larger than the Chase National Bank.

Giannini's life is that of a banker interested in the small man and his livelihood, a man with a mission, whose object was never personal financial gain. The story plainly shows, however, Giannini's satisfaction from the admiration and loyalty of his friends, from financial power and from the luxury of freely speaking his mind.

In a sense the biographer makes a brief for the capitalist system, the private financing of private enterprise. The interpretation given Roosevelt's bank holiday of 1933, the Emergency Bank Act, and the Security and Exchange Commissions is plainly partisan. Government agencies are "power-sniffing dragons," "green eyed and righteous, they breathed fire and fury at ancient malpractices and set out to police a profession sadly in need of severe scrutiny or scrubbing." His banker, thinks Mr. Dana, needed neither scrutiny nor scrubbing.

An anecdote gives insight into some contemporary opinions. A New England banker protested, "We simply cannot have this Sicilian fruit vendor at the head of this nation's banking." A more canny banker replied: "The chances are excellent that he is simply an American builder descended from a very determined Roman emperor."

* * *

The story of the McCormick-Patterson press as given in Tebbel's book, An American, Dynasty, is a critical study of the development of personal journalism through the interlocking ownership of three of America's most powerful newspapers, with their combined circulation of more than five million—the *Chicago Tribune*, the *New York Daily News* and the *Washington Times-Herald*. The author himself a journalist and publisher uses this book to point up the role of the newspaper in public life.

Three families came together in pre-Civil War days—from journalism, theology, business and agriculture — to form this journalistic dynasty whose influence has transcended the simple role of the newspaper and has become a "state of mind." Joseph Medill, whose name was lost in the marriage of his two daughters into the McCormick and Patterson families, was the founder of the dynasty. Medill followed Horace Greeley's advice to go west (indeed it has been claimed the advice was originally given to Joseph Medill), joined the *Chicago Tribune* staff in 1855 and devoted forty-four years of his life to the *Tribune* and the dissemination of his ideas. His journalistic philosophy has been carried on in the present generation by Col. McCormick of the *Tribune*, the late Captain Joseph Patterson of the *New York Daily News* and Cissy Patterson's Washington paper.

Medill's sponsorship of Lincoln and the *Tribune's* influential backing of the Lincoln administration played a vital part in that period. The author's opinion is plain that the present generation has used its fortune and newspapers less constructively.

As a study in heredity and the persistence of mores the story of these families makes interesting reading. But freedom of the press surely requires that opinions and editorial comment be kept out of the news columns. The right to publish carries the obligation of giving full and unbiased news. This author holds that the McCormick-Patterson papers have contributed to standardization of thought, to a loss of reader confidence, to an intensification of personal prejudice and to an anti-democratic spirit.

Both books point out how great a degree personal control and thought regimentation may come about even in a democratic country.

Philosophy Of Nothing

BASIC PROBLEMS OF PHILOSOPHY. *Selected Readings With Introductions by Daniel J. Bronstein, Yervant H. Krikorian, and Philip P. Wiener. Department of Philosophy, College of the City of New York. Published by Prentice-Hall, Inc., New York.* 1947. 752 *pp.* US$5.65.

EXISTENTIALISM *by Jean-Paul Sartre. Translated by Bernard Frechtman. Published by Philosophical Library, New York.* 1947. US$2.75. *Reviewed by Vasily Demin.*

PHILOSOPHY as being concerned with human values which are not to be cast off with a shrug, the publication of a new philosophical treatise is not to content itself with mere statements of theory and wishful thinking. Philosophy must, at least, have some relation to reality, not to say that it must give man weapons wherewith he would be able to reshape this reality to suit his ideals. For this reason, when philosophies of the realistic cut are ignored, or purposely obscured in such volumes as bear the name of Basic Problems of Philosophy, one can only regret that they are printed and circulated. For they veil the very purpose to which philosophy is best put: the search for human values.

The first volume under review appears to have been compiled by philosophers or by students who hold that the last word on philosophy was uttered in the time of Emanuel Kant. Since then, philosophers have merely discussed again and again problems that had been posed and analyzed. The task of present day philosophers (one gathers from the anthology) is to review past ideas and thoughts, insert corrections and alterations, but never make any basic changes. The manner in which the readings have been selected and arranged, gives the impression that the editors believe Plato's ideas are just as valid and revealing today, as they were in his own time. With this it is difficult to agree, for then, mankind's progress is depicted as a vicious circle, and not as an ascending spiral. "The same great issues are discussed nowadays as were discussed in the times of Plato," (page 733.)

The compilers of this philosophical volume are not content to deal with philosophy alone: they take time out in their voluminous introductions to attack the U.S.S.R. and its way of life. They assert that the Constitution of the U.S.S.R. is "so-called democratic." They also assert that the "theoreticians of the Communist Party" are far from realizing the socialist democracy at which Marx aims. To "refute" Marxism, the editors present the senile ruminations of John Dewey, at the same time granting no space to the writings of any representative of modern Soviet philosophy. Dewey, naturally, emerges victorious in the end, but one only wonders at the purpose of the volume in question. Wouldn't it have been more appropriate to style it "Anti-Soviet Basic Problems of Philosophy?"

* * *

In the second volume under review we find an inherent contradiction from the very first pages. Monsieur Sartre comes out with the idea that man cannot be influenced by external forces, for there are no values external to man and no given human nature which he is obliged to fulfil. Having read the foregoing one only wonders why Sartre took all the trouble of writing his book, since it won't make any difference either way.

Sartre attacks evolutionary philosophies of history: in other words Sartre does not believe that man can cease being a pig through collective effort and evolution.

Existentialism, for those who have not yet read the Sartre chef-d'oeuvre can be easily summed up in one sentence. If Descartes said "Cogito, ergo sum," the existentialists assert "I suffer, therefore I exist." This kind of doctrine, as the author himself reveals, is intended strictly for specialists and philosophers. In other words, it is not for the common herd which, as some rashly assert, has inherited this Twentieth Century. Mr. Sartre proposes a *new* philosophy, but apparently thinks it is possible to engineer something new without taking into account the common man these days. And herein lies the doom of existentialism, for it is intended for the few "elect" intellectuals who have lost faith in this world, and prefer to engage in mental masturbation rather than to contribute to the revival of their country (which is France, currently beset with great difficulties.) The existentialists prefer to say that existence precedes essence, which is one way of saying that the "individual man is the realization of a certain concept in the divine intelligence." Wait until Hegel hears this one: he will gladly clasp Jean-Paul Sartre to his bosom and claim him for his own! And existentialists have the affront to assert that they have evolved a new philosophy.

Besides Hegel, another man would have been quite happy to study Sartre's philosophy. "To chose to be this or that is to affirm at the same time the value of what we choose, because we can never choose evil. We always choose the good, and nothing can be good for us without being good for all." This other man is Hitler. Since man is responsible only to himself, and can never choose evil, but a good that is good for all, Hitler must have been just another existentialist. Besides, the judges at Nuremberg had no right to pass judgment on the Nazis; in the first place they had no right to judge other people (according to Sartre) and in the second place the Nazis could not have chosen to do evil, (also according to Sartre.) The gas chambers at Maidanek

were really good for every one concerned, because "nothing can be good for us, without being good for all."

The real caliber of Monsieur Sartre as a philosopher and leading intellectual of present-day France is best revealed in his latest novel, the first part of a trilogy entitled Les Chemins de la liberte. The 300-odd pages of this "existentialist" masterpiece are devoted to the adventures of the hero who concentrates his energies on "self analysis" and the means to procure money to finance the abortion required by his mistress. Therein lies the social context of the book. Being responsible only to himself, the "hero" naturally does not take part in French reconstruction, for he has other weightier matters on his agenda.

* * *

At a time when the energies of the people in Europe should be concentrated on repairing the ravages of Nazi aggression, their attention is distracted by such false prophets as Sartre and, to a certain extent, the editors of the Basic Problems of Philosophy. When a young seeker after the truth peruses the books in question he is apt to be more perplexed than before he set out on his quest. He is as liable as not to declare that after all All Men Are Mortal, and in his skepticism arrive at the conclusion that it doesn't much matter one way or another whether a man acts or speculates on "eternal truths." Of course it would be most fortunate if such books were reserved for the "elect" Sartre had in mind when he wrote his.

Lively Diary

JOURNAL OF THE LADY PAMELA FOXE *by Dorothea Malm. Published by Prentice Hall, Inc.*, 1947. 278 *pp.*, US$2.75. *Reviewed by F. M. Roberts.*

THIS novel of 18th century England, with a brief interlude in Massachusetts Colony, is written in the form of a diary by a young lady of fashion and of uncertain morality. Had Lady Pamela spent as much forethought upon her activities as she spent in hindsight and unnatural detail in the writing of her diary, the story might have been less lively and the lady more estimable.

The diary covers less than a year of time. Yet that year includes adventures in London society, a round trip in sailing vessels to Massachusetts, a particularly unsavory episode of adultery there, a return to England and her disloyalty to the one kind and steady men of her "class." In her first entry 19-year-old Lady Pamela gives her slogan for the year: "If one is not a happy puppy by nature, it is best to be an artful Pamela Foxe."

This is not a story of court life, as is Kathleen Winsor's Forever Amber, a more juicy novel of the same type, set a few years earlier. The characters of London society, mostly seen at routs and at gossiping, are types who remain unchanged from the beginning to end of the story. It is true one gets a picture of a certain sort of London life, but the two months spent by Lady Pamela in Boston are divorced from any representation of colonial life there in the 18th century. However in Boston is introduced the one well realized character of the book, the servant Bessie, daughter of a farmer. Bessie brings reality and freshness into a corrupt and loose background.

The book is a brittle costume piece, and as such has its masquerades, its intrigues, its humor and also its happy ending.

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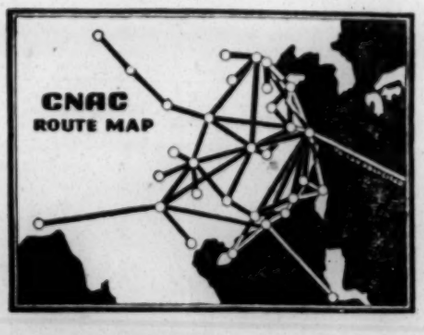

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		8.55	10.16	12.14	13.48		23.27		0.56	D KUNSHAN D		15.24	17.09	18.22			5.28		8.34	16.05
10.13	8.41	9.42	10.57	12.57	14.29	15.17	0.20	1.06	1.43	A	13.06	14.33	16.23	17.36	20.31	21.06	4.39	5.39	7.10	15.19
10.18	8.48	9.49	11.08	13.04	14.36	15.26	0.27	1.13	1.55	D SOOCHOW A	12.59	14.19	16.17	17.23		20.58	4.32	5.19	7.04	15.09
11.10	9.36	10.45	11.57	13.55	15.35	16.14	1.22	2.08	2.50	A	12.11	13.24	15.14	16.29	19.35	20.10	3.39	4.26	6.00	14.10
	9.42		12.06	14.02		16.23	1.29	2.15	3.00	D WUSIH A	12.04	13.18	15.08	16.21		20.03	3.33	4.19		
	10.31		12.59	15.03		17.09	2.27	3.13	4.05	A	11.17	12.22	14.05	15.20		19.16	2.35	3.30		
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	11.38		14.00	16.13			3.56	4.29	5.16	A		11.09	12.41	14.05		18.12	1.07	2.03		
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